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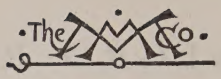
THE NEGRO RACES



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THE NEGRO RACES

A Sociological Study

VOLUME I

THE NEGRITOS, *comprising The Pygmies, Bushmen and Hottentots of Central and South Africa*

THE NIGRITIANS, *comprising the Jolofs, Mandingos, Hausas, Ashantis, Dahomans, etc., of the Sudan; and the Tibbus of the Sahara Desert: and*

THE FELLATAHS *of Central Sudan*

By JEROME DOWD

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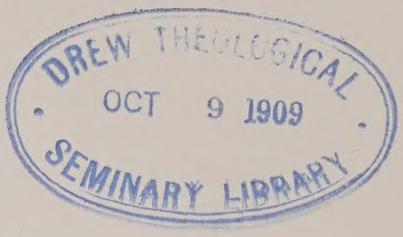

PREFACE

THE author submits to the public this volume as one of a series which he proposes to publish consisting of a sociological study of mankind from the standpoint of race. Up to the present time sociologists, in tracing the evolution of society, have constructed theories based upon data selected promiscuously from opposite quarters of the earth and from many different races. This method would suffice if the races of men had lived in the same environment and had undergone the same stages of development. But it will not suffice if the races have appeared upon the earth in succession and not simultaneously. If they have inhabited different zones and have been subject to different physical surroundings, it does not stand to reason that they could develop the same institutions and pass through identical stages of evolution. The author's first object, therefore, is to establish the fact that each race has its distinctive institutions and special evolution corresponding to the locality in which it lives or has lived. The second object is to discover the factors and laws which explain the mental and moral characteristics and particular institutions of each general racial division, to the end that the principles and laws discovered may be applied to whatever is abnormal or retrogressive.

If the first few volumes of the series should seem to lay stress upon the physical environment, it is because that factor is always predominant in the early stage of development, and only diminishes gradually as man strengthens his intellect and adds to his knowledge. The environment first controls man, after which man controls the environment, and in any system of sociology, a consideration of the physical

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forces acting upon man must precede a correct understanding of the later moral and psychological forces. In the opinion of Ratzel, a sociology from this point of view is very much needed. He says in his "Anthropogeographie," [1] that most sociological systems and doctrines consider man as independent of the earth, and that in modern sociology the ground plays such a small rôle that the works that deal seriously with it are exceptions.

The inability of modern civilizations to solve their perplexing and threatening political, industrial, familial and other social problems is due to a lack of application to those problems of the scientific methods which have wrought such marvels of progress in the domain of chemistry, physics, biology and medicine. When men turn away from empiricism in the study of social problems and begin to understand that the phenomena of the social world are the product of forces operating according to ascertainable laws, although of a kind different from those of the physical world, there will be strides forward in the social life as notable and full of blessings to the human race as the progress which has been made in any other domain. The world is not without great moral teachers who stir up and sharpen the conscience of the people but it needs a knowledge of the causes and effects of human activities and institutions, as revealed by science, to enable the moral forces to expend themselves in other than a blind and anarchic opposition. "In order to know how social actions operate as causes and produce effect," says Small, "it is necessary to have description and explanation of the social process, and of the structures and functions involved: for it is with reference to these that our moral judgments assume knowledge of cause and effect." [2]

The author does not wish to be understood as attempt-

[1] Vol. 1, p. 66.

[2] "The Significance of Sociology for Ethics," Chicago, 1902, p. 8.

ing to write a history of the human races. That would be a task too ambitious for any one man to think of. But, since the sociologist accepts the facts and special laws established by the historian, ethnologist, anthropologist and other scientists, it is not impossible for him to embrace in his investigations, as Spencer has done, a wide range of phenomena. The work of bringing together the general principles derived by specialists in their respective fields, is an important one and, while seeming at first glance to be rather too comprehensive and wide in scope, is, in fact, very limited and definite and constitutes in itself a scientific specialty which requires an equipment, a grouping of data and a manner of treatment unlike what is demanded of any other specialist.

Sociology differs from many other sciences in one important particular. It is a science whose general conclusions are to be practically and directly applied by the citizens who vote and otherwise determine the destiny of States, whereas in most other sciences the general ideas are to be applied only by special industrial or professional classes of men. For example, it is not necessary for the medical specialist to address himself to the public, but only to practitioners, because a sensible man, instead of attempting to treat his own case, calls in a physician and submits to his discipline. On the contrary, in reference to social or political questions, every man, wise or foolish, is his own physician and bases his action upon his own judgment. Sociology therefore should avoid the use of technical terminology which may not be comprehended by the average man of intelligence, and should be treated in a style that is calculated to bring the general principles of the science into as wide an acquaintance as possible.

The writer has begun his study with the Negro Races simply because they represent the most primitive life and not at all on account of any special interest in the so-called Negro question or any desire to solve it upon preconceived

notions. However, it has seemed strange to the writer that the people of the United States, who have a large Negro population, should have attempted to deal with it, through all of these years, without having a knowledge of the sociological conditions of kindred populations in Africa. In view of the need of a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of the Negro in Africa as a basis for dealing with him in America, the writer has gone more into the details in his first and second volumes than he would otherwise have done.

The first volume seeks to portray and interpret the life of the Negritos, Nigritians and Fellatahs from the earliest times to the present, to show the conditions which existed or still exist, as an outcome of native surroundings, and to note the changes which have taken place in consequence of outside influences.

The second volume (already written) deals with Slavery and the Slave Trade in Africa and the Modern African Labor Problem; and attempts to show the general effects of slavery and the slave trade upon the industrial, social and moral status of the natives.

The third volume will deal with the Galla type of Negroes of East Africa, the Bantus of Equatorial and Southern Africa and the Negroes of America. Other volumes will deal with the American Indians, the Mongolians, Japanese, Chinese, Semites and Aryans.

Among those to whom the author is especially indebted for help in the initial volume of this proposed series, are Prof. W. I. Thomas, from whose lectures in the field of the natural races, the author has received much inspiration and many valuable suggestions; Prof. J. Franklin Jameson, from whose lectures upon Slavery in America and from whose general methods, the author has derived valuable and indispensable help; Prof. Albion W. Small and Prof. Frederick Starr, from whose lectures on Sociology and Anthro-

pology, the author has derived also valuable and indispensable help.

Among those to whom the author is indebted for help of a different but not less valuable and not less appreciated kind are, Dr. John F. Crowell, Dr. John C. Kilgo, Dr. Richard T. Ely, Prof. Paul S. Reinsch, Rev. Plato Durham, Mr. R. L. Durham, Prof. Edwin Mims, Mr. J. P. Caldwell and Mr. James H. Southgate.

Whatever merits may be found in the first volume of this work are to be attributed mostly to the fortunate circumstance which brought the author in contact with the above named benefactors.

Charlotte, N. C., May 1, 1907.

INTRODUCTION

THE ethnologists use the word Negro as a general term to include all races having a more or less black skin and woolly hair. In Africa there are five subdivisions of the Negro type.

First, the Negritos, including the dwarf races of the equatorial regions, the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert and the Hottentots of the southern steppe.[1] (Deniker used the term Negrito for the black people of the Malay peninsula, Andaman Islands, Philippines, etc., and the term Negrilloes for the Pygmies of Africa, p. 455.) Quatrefages thinks that the Pygmies, Bushmen and Hottentots are of the same race and constitute the aboriginal Negro type; that they developed in Southern Asia between the highlands and the sea, migrated eastward and once occupied a great portion of Oceania, and finally came into Africa by crossing the Strait of Babel Mandeb and the Gulf of Aden.[2] Within the historic period they have been undergoing gradual extermination by the larger and later developed types of the Negro race, and are now the mere remnant of a people that at one time was dominant in India, Oceania and Africa.

Second, the Nigritians, including all of the natives with dark skin and woolly hair occupying the territory of the Sudan,[3] *i. e.*, a broad area reaching across the continent from east to west between the desert of Sahara and a line which extends from the Gulf of Guinea to the foothills of Abyssinia.

Third, the Fellatahs, a race supposed to have sprung

[1] Keane, "Man: Past and Present," p. 17.

[2] "The Pygmies," pp. 186, 187.

[3] An Arab expression "Belád es Soudán"—Land of the Blacks.

from crossings of the BERBERS of the desert with the Nigritians of the Sudan.

Fourth, the Bantus, including a vast population of somewhat lighter color and less negroid features than the natives of the Sudan, occupying almost all of West Africa below the Sudan; or more exactly speaking below the Rio del Rey River, a part of the equatorial region and a great part of South and East Africa.

Fifth, the Gallas, including all of the lighter colored people of East Africa from the Galla country to the Zambesi River.

This volume has to do only with the first three types of which fuller information as to their locality and physical characteristics will be found in the text.

" The Lord looketh from heaven : he beholdeth all the sons of men. From the place of his habitation he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He fashioneth their hearts alike : he considereth all their works."

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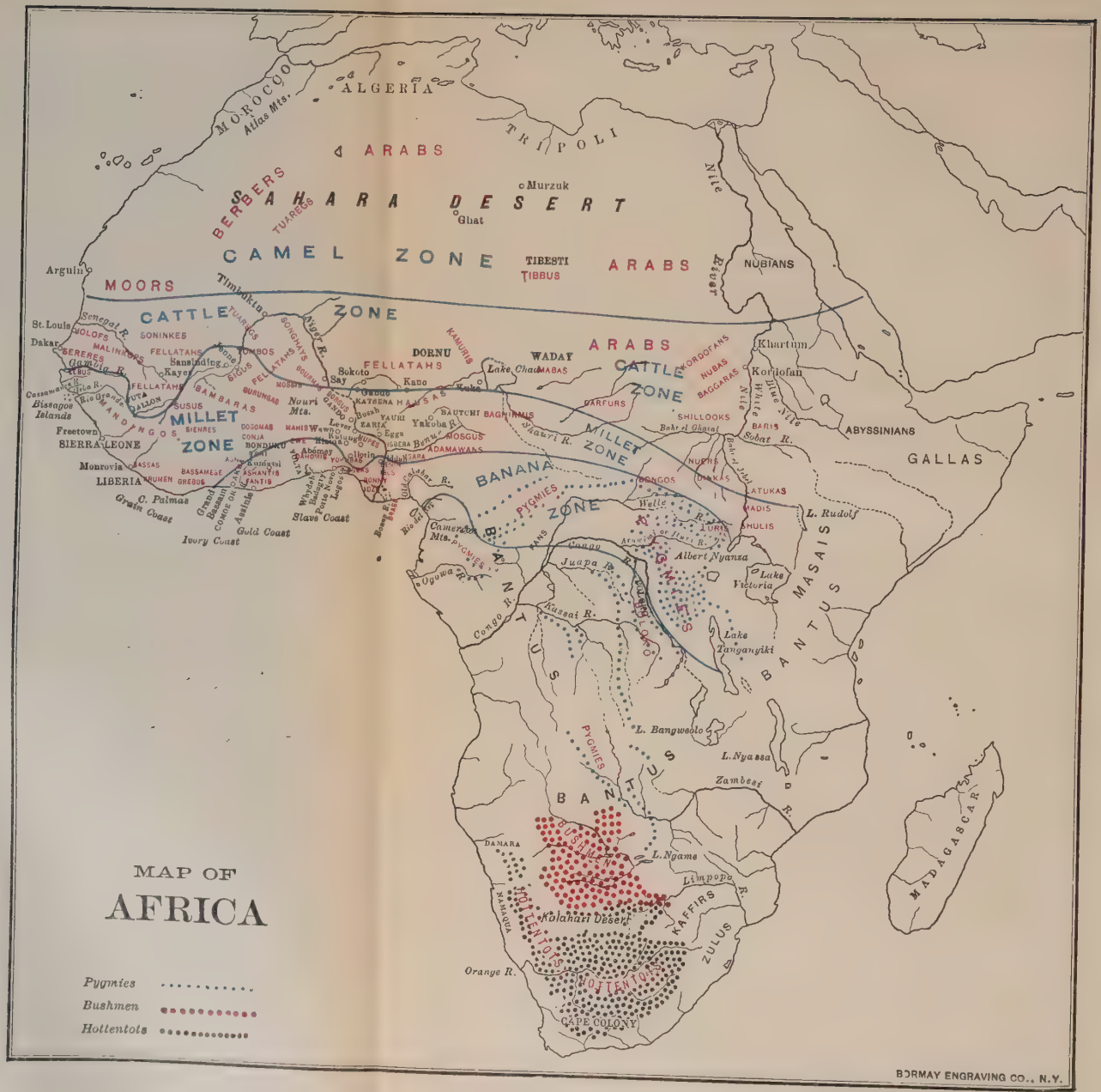

MAP OF
AFRICA

Pygmies .....
Bushmen .....
Hottentots .....

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CHAPTER I

THE PYGMIES

Pygmies in Ancient Literature.—References to pygmy peoples are found in the literature of the Greeks, Romans and Egyptians. Homer, in the third chant of the Iliad, speaks of storks that fly over the ocean and bear carnage and death to the men called pygmies. He knew that the storks passed each year from Europe to Africa and it is presumed that he thought of these little men as inhabiting some part of the dark continent. Aristotle, in his History of Animals, refers to pygmies as dwelling somewhere near the sources of the Nile.[1] Pliny mentions them as not only inhabiting Africa, but also Thrace, Asia Minor and India.[2] Pomponius Mela, a contemporary of Pliny, also speaks of pygmies as living somewhere in Africa, but is very vague as to the precise locality.[3] Egyptian records refer to pygmies as far back as the Sixth Dynasty. "Like the dwarfs in mediæval times," says Keane, "they were in high request at the courts of the Pharaohs, who sent expeditions to fetch these Danga (Tank) from the Island of the Double, that is, the fabulous region of Shade Land beyond Punt, where they dwelt. The first of whom there is authentic record was brought from this region, apparently the White Nile, to King Assa, 3300 B. C. by his officer Baurtet. Some seventy years later Heru Khuf, another officer, was sent by Pepi II to bring back a pygmy alive and in good health from the land of great trees away to the south."[4]

Modern Discovery of Pygmies.—These references to pygmies were regarded as mere fictions by modern ethnolo-

[1] Quatrefages, "Pygmies," p. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[4] "Man: Past and Present," p. 117.

gists and historians down to the middle of the nineteenth century. Gibbon thought that they were altogether fabulous.[1] Some Portuguese explorers, as early as the sixteenth century, reported the existence of pygmies on the West Coast near the Loango River.[2] Describing some Pygmies seen at the court of the king of Lovango, Ogilby's book on Africa, written in 1670 says :

"Before the King's Cloth sit some Dwarfs, with their backs towards him, Pigmies indeed in Stature, but with Heads of a prodigious bigness ; for the more exact deforming whereof, they wear the Skin of some Beast tied round about them. The Blacks say there is a Wilderness, where reside none but Men of such a Stature who shoot the Gigantick Creatures the Elephants." [3] In 1625 Andrew Battel, an English sailor who had been made a prisoner by the Portuguese, and had remained for eighteen years in the Congo region, reported having seen a pygmy nation, called Matimbas, who were about the height of a boy of twelve years.[4] This report attracted only attention enough to be discredited. However, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the existence of real pygmies in this region was abundantly demonstrated by the discoveries of Schweinfurth, Stanley, Du Chaillu and numerous other explorers. Schweinfurth confirmed the statements of Homer, Aristotle and Pliny that pygmies lived near the head-waters of the Nile.[5] He discovered in the Monbuttu country, whose waters flow into the Nile, the dwarf race of Akkas.[6] It is now known that pygmy populations exist over a wide area in the equatorial forest region. They live in widely isolated groups all over the Welle, Semliki, Congo and Ogowai woodlands.[7]

Their Country.—The home of the Pygmies is in the rela-

[1] His "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Vol. 2, p. 575, N. Y., 1859.
[2] Stuhlmann, p. 437. [3] P. 508. [4] Quatrefages, p. 164.
[5] Stuhlmann, p. 437. [6] Schweinfurth, Vol. 2, p. 127.
[7] Keane, "Man: Past and Present," p. 121.

tively low equatorial regions of Central Africa, where the almost incessant rains produce a luxuriant vegetation. The trees are thickly studded and the undergrowth is almost impenetrable. The wealth of vines and moss that envelop and interlace the branches of the trees, sometimes gives the open spaces beneath the appearance of interminable labyrinths and tunnels. This natural canopy of interwoven foliage almost obscures the sunlight. Lloyd states that in some places at midday he could not read a newspaper nor take a photograph even with time-exposure.[1]

Description of the People.—The Pygmies average about four and one-half feet in height,[2] and have rather long and heavy bodies in proportion to their limbs.[3] They have a conspicuous projection of the buttocks, steatopygy,[4] but this peculiarity is cconfined mostly to the women and is not so common as among their kinsmen, the Bushmen and Hottentots.[5] Their heads are not so long and narrow (dolichocephalic) as those of the taller and more typical Negroes of West Africa (Deniker says that their heads are sub-dolichocephalic or mesocephalic, p. 456), but are rounded and somewhat four-cornered with a high and almost vertical forehead.[6] Their hands are small and elegantly formed, and have beautiful nails. Their feet are also small and well formed, but turned inward or parallel to each other.[7] Their jaws are very prognathus, *i. e.*, projecting.[8] Their skin is described as coffee brown and light yellow with brown shading, or chocolate,[9] but is somewhat lighter than that of the West African Negro. According to some au-

[1] "Journey Across the Pygmy Forest," *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 10, p. 28.

[2] Stuhlmann, p. 442; Wissmann, p. 130; Du Chaillu, "Equatorial Africa and Country of the Dwarfs," p. 446; Geil, p. 208.

[3] Stuhlmann, p. 441. [4] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 303.

[5] Stuhlmann, p. 444. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 444. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 444.

[8] Schweinfurth, Vol. 2, p. 29; Stuhlmann, p. 443.

[9] Deniker, p. 445; Stuhlmann, p. 441.

thorities their light skin is the result of living in the shade of the forest.[1] They have large ears, and large intelligent dark brown eyes.[2] Their hair is scant and woolly, and, according to Schweinfurth, is the color of "waste tow from old cordage." Their lips are reddish and very little swollen, but stick out, giving the mouth a snout-like formation.[3] Their bodies are covered with a thick fine, pale down.[4] They impressed Wissmann as much like the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert.[5] While they do not answer the demands of the missing link, they have a general expression and appearance which remind one of the anthropoid apes. Stanley was struck with their simian appearance and characterized them as "monkey-eyed."[6] Lloyd, who journeyed through the Pygmy forest, said that they lived much in trees and that their eyes were "constantly shifting as in the case of monkeys."[7] In their dancing, Geil said that they "made grimaces which at times suggested the facial expressions of apes, orang-outangs and monkeys."[8] Du Chaillu remarked that "their eyes had an untamable wildness in them that struck me as remarkable."[9] In the movement of their bodies and limbs they are quick but awkward. Their gait is described by Schweinfurth as waddling and lurching.[10] "It is in the highest degree probable," says Stuhlmann, "that we have in the Pygmies an original race, which in prehistoric times inhabited the tropical districts of Africa and South Asia, before the present races had penetrated those regions."[11]

Hunting Life: Animals of the Forest.—The Pygmies are a typical hunting people. In the forest region proper agriculture is impossible. The great amount of rainfall causes

[1] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 479.
[2] Stuhlmann, p. 445; Wissmann, p. 129.
[3] Stuhlmann, p. 440–445.
[4] Deniker, p. 456; Stuhlmann, p. 440.
[5] P. 129.
[6] "In Darkest Africa," Vol. 1, p. 374.
[7] *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 10, p. 29.
[8] P. 207.
[9] *Journal of American Geographical and Statistical Society*, Vol. 2, p. 109.
[10] Vol. 2, p. 29.
[11] P. 472.

a rapid growth of weeds that would choke to death any cultivated plant. The pastoral life is also impossible, partly because of the superabundance of rank natural vegetation which prevents the growth of grass, and partly because of the existence of the tse-tse fly whose poisonous bite is fatal alike to cattle and horses. Fishing is only a supplementary resource, the streams not being sufficiently prolific to enable the people to live alone by fishing. In the more elevated and open places in the equatorial region, there are great quantities of banana and plantain trees, but alas, these favored places are occupied by the larger and more powerful Negro races, who do not allow the little people to invade their territory. Hence, the Pygmies are condemned to live as prisoners in the forest and to obtain their subsistence chiefly by hunting. The larger animals such as the elephant, buffalo and antelope, cannot easily penetrate this dense forest, and are found in large numbers only in the more open and elevated parts of the country. Small game, however, is abundant, such as the gazelle, monkey, baboon, leopard, wild boar, rat, etc. A variety of birds are found along the water courses, the chief of which is the guinea fowl, a bird much relied on by the natives and explorers.

Small Groups of People Live in Villages.—It is said that the Pygmies "never go out of the forest."[1] They live in small groups and are constantly on the move to keep up with the game. They nowhere have permanent settlements.[2] Guy Burrows, who lived among them, says that they are "seldom to be found in the same spot for any length of time."[3] Owing to the limited supply of game, the people are obliged to scatter, and their temporary villages are made up of a small number of huts. Stanley counted as many as

[1] Lloyd, *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 10, p. 28.

[2] Stuhlmann, p. 448.

[3] "Native Tribes of the Upper Welle," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 28, p. 35.

ninety-two huts in one village, but the usual number is much less. In some places the number per village is about thirty,[1] and in others not more than twelve.[2] In some localities they do not even form villages, but live scattered in individual huts in the forest and over the hills.[3] The villages are usually built at the end of a long clearing.[4]

[1] "Native Tribes of the Upper Welle," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 28, p. 28.

[2] Du Chaillu, *Journal of American Geographical and Statistical Society*, Vol. 2, p. 106.

[3] Casati, Vol. 1, p. 157.

[4] Stanley, "In Darkest Africa," Vol. 1, p. 278.

CHAPTER II

THE PYGMIES (*Continued*)

Implements and Weapons.—The implements and weapons of the people are the bow and arrow, spear, and a shield made of plaited bark. Sometimes knives and axes are purchased from their neighbors. The arrows are made of bamboo and poisoned with aconite.

Methods of Hunting and Trapping.—In attacking the game the little men are bold and skilful. They can shoot four arrows in succession before the first strikes the ground. When they chance to come upon an elephant they shoot it in the eye to blind it and then gather around it with their spears and pierce it to death. After killing an elephant or other big animal they encamp upon the spot until the victim's flesh is entirely consumed.[1] They are expert trappers. They sink pits and "cover them with sticks and earth." They "build a shed-like structure, the roof being suspended by a vine, and they spread nuts and ripe plantains underneath to tempt the chimpanzees, baboons and other simians." They set "bow-traps for rats and civits which snap and strangle their prey." [2] "A long string of Pygmies," relates Geil, "arrange themselves across a section of the woods, and each sets a loop-trap between himself and the next Pygmy. The antelopes are then chased in that direction and snared in the wood fibre." [3] Du Chaillu says that "the woods near the villages are so full of traps and pitfalls that it is dangerous for any but trained woodsmen to wander about in them," and that they capture in these traps and pits many monkeys, leopards, antelopes and wild boars.[4]

[1] Casati, Vol. 1, p. 159; Stuhlmann, p. 455.
[2] Stanley, "In Darkest Africa," Vol. 2, p. 101. [3] P. 182.
[4] *Journal of American Geographical Statistical Society*, Vol. 2, p. 110.

Fishing.—For fishing they sometimes make "nets 100 yards long of grass and bark fibres." [1] Without hook they tie meat to a string and "land heavy fish."

Food.—The food of these people, besides the big game and fish, consists of swine, monkeys, caterpillars, maggots,[2] "snakes, ants and mice." [3] Those observed by Schweinfurth in the Monbuttu country kept some domesticated fowls,[4] and Stanley says that some have domesticated dogs and goats.[5] Their vegetable diet consists of bananas, plantains, mushrooms and numerous roots and berries. "Bananas are their chief delight," says Burrows. "A Pigmy, I have no hesitation in saying, eats as a rule twice as much as will suffice a full-grown man. He will take a stalk containing about sixty bananas, seat himself and eat them all at a meal—besides other food. Then he will lie and groan throughout the night, until morning comes, when he is ready to repeat the operation." [6] Geil, however, denies that Pygmies eat sixty bananas at one sitting.[7] They usually cook their meat, and for this purpose keep a smouldering fire in some old tree. As they have no knowledge of making fire by friction, they carry the fire about with them from camp to camp.[8] When they cook an animal, they eat not only the flesh, but the bowels, and even the bones, after the latter have been reheated and pounded.[9] If they catch a good quantity of game, they gorge themselves and stick out in front as if ready to burst.[10] They are fond of smoking tobacco, although this is a rare article with them, and in order to get the full benefit of the limited supply, they inhale deeply each draught and hold it in their lungs as long as possible,—a practice

[1] Dr. Henry Schlichter, "The Pygmy Tribes of Africa," *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 8, p. 296. [2] Stuhlmann, p. 455.
[3] John Gillespie, "The Pygmies of Africa," *Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 10, n. s., p. 574; Wissmann, p. 132. [4] Vol. 2, p. 127.
[5] "In Darkest Africa," Vol. 2, p. 110. [6] P. 193. [7] P. 240.
[8] Stuhlmann, p. 452. [9] Stuhlmann, p. 456; Farini, p. 215.
[10] Farini, p. 215.

which produces violent coughing.[1] The Eskimo, by the way, smokes in the same manner.

Dwellings.—The Pygmies live generally in small oval-shaped huts, made of stems, leaves and dirt, raised only about four feet from the ground, and arranged in a circle with the hut of the chief in the centre. The huts are easily made, an hour being quite sufficient to build one.[2] They resemble large mushrooms, and are so unobtrusive that they easily elude the eye of the stranger. The furniture consists of a bed or kind of mattress of sticks, supported upon stilts. Some families have no huts, but live without shelter on the side of a stream or in the thickets of the forest.[3] The Pygmies that live near the Kalahari desert usually ward off the wild beasts by a line of fire, near which on cold nights they often sleep in a sitting posture with their chins resting upon their knees. In this unbalanced position they sometimes nod and fall upon the embers.[4]

Industrial Arts.—The art of manufacturing among the Pygmies is limited to making their simple hunting and fishing outfit and a few articles of clothing. They know nothing of pottery, but some of them seem to know how to make bark cloth and also fibre baskets, which they carry by means of straps reaching around over the tops of their heads.[5] As they make no iron or stone implements, they are still living in the Age of Wood.[6]

Trade.—Trade is carried on to a very limited extent. They exchange their surplus game, fish, ivory, feathers, honey, poison, etc., for bananas, plantains (a large kind of banana) arrow-points, knives, axes, cooking utensils, and water jars of their neighbors.[7]

[1] Stuhlmann, p. 450.

[2] Du Chaillu, *Journal of American Geographical and Statistical Society*, Vol. 2 p. 106. [3] Casati, Vol. 1, p. 158. [4] Farini, p. 215.

[5] Stuhlmann, p. 439. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 453.

[7] Stanley, "In Darkest Africa," Vol. 2, p. 103; Du Chaillu, *Journal of American Geographical and Statistical Soc*,. Vol. 2, p. 110.

Transportation.—The Pygmies have no means of transportation except by foot. Their highways consist of narrow paths which wind through the forest and are usually so overgrown with weeds and brush as to be almost indiscernible.

Division of Labor.—The simplicity of the forest life does not permit of much division of labor. The women accompany the men in both hunting and fighting, cook, gather fuel and act as pack mule or freight car. However, the burden of transportation is light, since the worldly possessions of the people comprise only a few weapons and trinkets. When ready for a change of camp, it is only necessary to gather up the babies and whistle for the dogs. The entire household and kitchen furniture of a Pygmy family could have been lost in Lady Wouter Van Twiller's skirt pocket.

No Slave Class.—The Pygmies have no slaves for the reason that the conditions of the hunting life render the maintenance of slaves impossible. In the desperate daily battle for existence, it is necessary that every man exert his faculties to their utmost extent, and wherever this is the case, slave labor is not possible because other motives than compulsion are necessary to induce man to put forth his utmost effort. Each man can produce barely enough for himself and family, and hence if slaves existed, they could not maintain themselves and at the same time produce a surplus for their master. But if slaves were ever so profitable, it would be impossible to keep them in subjection. "The hunting slave," says Nieboer, "will be much more inclined to run away than a soil-tilling slave: for the latter, during his flight, has to live in a make-shift way on the spontaneous products of nature, whereas, the former continues hunting as he has always done, his flight has not the character of flight." [1] If an agricultural slave runs away, he can live only by joining another community where he is liable to be returned to

[1] P. 191.

his master or reënslaved; but if a hunting slave runs away, he can support himself as well as any other hunter, and so he has no need to call upon any one for help and no one has a motive for reënslaving him. In the next place, it is to be observed that slaves cannot be used in the place of the labor of the women, because all of the men are needed in hunting and fighting. Finally the great man among hunting people is not one who has acquired great wealth or has noble blood in his veins, but one who has strength, courage, and can overcome the great beast and slay the enemy in battle. Success in this line brings honor and glory, and wins the choicest women. To admit slaves to hunt and fight (and that is the only occupation open to them) is at once to place them on a level with the freemen; and public opinion could not consider as slaves those who engaged in the noble occupation of hunting and fighting. Hence slavery among a hunting people is impossible and absurd.[1]

Lack of Foresight.—The Pygmies have no need of storehouses or granaries. There is no winter season to provide against, and each day's labor suffices for each day's need. They have no bank accounts and they experience no miserable nights over the problem of accumulating and holding property. They receive nothing from their ancestors and bequeath nothing to posterity.

[1] Nieboer, p. 191.

CHAPTER III

THE PYGMIES (*Continued*)

Family Life.—The family life of the Pygmies is very simple. Marriages are mostly monogamous.[1] They take place early, and generally according to the inclination of the parties concerned, but in some cases by purchase.[2] If any marriage ceremony takes place it has not yet been described by any explorer. Owing to the wide distribution of the population and the difficulties of communication, there is much inter-marrying of blood-relations. It is not uncommon for marriages to take place between brothers and sisters.[3] It is unusual to find as many as three children in one family.[4] Each family lives independently of the other and cooks and eats separately.[5] There does not seem to be much affection between members of a family. Geil says, "The mother is fond of her children to the age of three years but after they leave the breast it is finished."[6] The playthings of the young Pygmies are bows and arrows and the bones of monkeys, antelopes and elephants.[7] "A striking instance of this disregard for home and its memories," says Burrows, "was afforded when I had occasion to revisit the birthplace of my Pigmy boy as I returned through the Mabodé country. He was with me at the time but as we approached the village they (his people) were still on the same encampment ground or very near it—he showed not the least pleasure at the sight of the place. It might have been his first visit to the district

[1] Geil, p. 184. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

[3] Du Chaillu, *Journal of American Geographical and Statistical Society*, Vol. 2, p. 109; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 304; Preville, p. 213.

[4] Geil, p. 184. [5] Casati, Vol. 1, p. 158.

[6] P. 225. [7] Geil, p. 212.

to judge by the absence of any display of emotion, or outward sign that the settlement had once been the scene of his daily life. However, as he had served me very well, apart from the natural laziness of his kind, I thought I might do him a good turn by offering him freedom to return to his people.

"To my surprise he besought me to tell him what wrong he had done to be discharged like this. I explained that so far from having done wrong, he had pleased me so well that if he liked he might go back to his own people. He looked at me for a moment in bewilderment: then he threw up his head with a proud gesture and walked away, thus intimating that he had not a very high opinion of the manner in which I proposed to reward faithful service." [1]

The Pygmies bury their dead near the hut where they died and sing and weep over them for three days, but without dancing, and then go away and build a new camp.[2]

Political Life.—The people have no definite political organization. The groups are small, since, on account of the scarcity of food, it is in the nature of all original forest districts to be thinly populated.[3] Furthermore, it is necessary for the people to scatter so as to be unobserved and free from attack from outside. As a rule feeble people protect themselves by scattering and strong people by uniting. Each group has a sort of chief who is leader in war and hunting.[4] Sometimes public matters are discussed in council. Schlichter refers to certain tribes as discussing the "interests of the community in long palavers." [5] Politically, the Pygmies are organized bands for pillage. They make frequent raids upon neighboring tribes, carrying off corn, bananas, sweet-potatoes, manioc, etc.[6] They are excellent fighters, greatly prized as

[1] P. 190.
[2] Geil, p. 215.
[3] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 476.
[4] Casati, Vol. 1, p. 158.
[5] *Scottish Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 8, p. 298.
[6] Casati, Vol. 1, p. 159.

allies and greatly feared as enemies. Wherever they live in proximity to the taller Negroes, a sort of alliance or international *entente* prevails whereby the Pygmies hunt and fight for their neighbors in exchange for the privilege of free access to the banana groves.[1] The villages of the people are not fortified for the reason that the forest itself is a sufficient barrier. They are accessible only by means of narrow paths in each of which is a house where in times of danger some one stands guard.[2] Here and there in the paths leading to the village are traps having sharp poisoned points to catch the feet of the unwary stranger.[3] The Pygmies are very shy, ever on the alert, and upon the slightest signal of danger they gather up their effects and scamper for the jungle. But for the difficulties of penetrating the forest, these people would long since have been exterminated. Dense forests even more than mountains hinder invasion, as the history of the settlement of North America fully illustrates.[4] It would be a remarkable fact if, having been the first people to enter Africa, the Pygmies should be the last to survive.

Æsthetic Life.—The æsthetic life of the people is remarkably undeveloped. Their dress is rather scant whether viewed in the light of clothing or ornament. The men wear only a strip of cloth about their loins, and the women a bunch of leaves. None of the Pygmies seen by Stuhlmann wore articles of ornament,[5] but Stanley saw a dwarf queen, however, who wore iron rings in her ears, iron armlets above her elbows and an iron band curled around her neck. Dancing is much in favor and consists of an individualistic jumping and swinging of arms and legs, and is "conducted without any sweeter sound than the rhythmical tapping of a bow with an arrow."[6] Schweinfurth, seeing a Pygmy dance,

[1] Stanley, "In Darkest Africa," Vol. 2, p. 103; Preville, p. 212.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 103.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 374.
[4] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 127.
[5] P. 442.
[6] Burrows, p. 183.

said that his agility "was perfectly marvelous." [1] Sir Henry James describes a peculiar dance witnessed by him in which the performers remain seated and "dance with their arms and legs and backs and stomachs in the drollest fashion." [2] The Pygmies are fond of music. It is said that some of them have a "good idea of singing and form themselves into little companies of minstrels." [3] In the line of drawing, painting and sculpture they seem to have no capacity whatever.

Religion.—As to the religion of the Pygmies little can be said. Burrows asserts that "no religion, as far as I was able to discover has ever been in use among them: they do not know the totem and have no fetich rites. They simply live in the present and for the present. What has happened is speedily forgotten and they do not seek to divine the future by occult means." According to Du Chaillu, they do not wear charms and have no idols.[4] Casati goes so far as to say that the Pygmies have no sorcery and no superstitions, —a statement which is clearly an error, due to lack of information, since no savage people have ever been discovered who were not steeped in superstitions of one kind or another. Rev. John Gillespie, writing from the forest region, says that some of the Pygmies have a vague notion of a God, and address to it prayers in moments of sadness or terror. He quotes this example: "Yea, if thou dost really exist, why dost thou let us be slain? We ask thee not for food or clothing, for we only live on snakes, ants and mice. Thou hast made us, why dost thou let us be trodden down?" [5] It is more than probable that this notion of a God and prayer was derived from contact with Europeans. The kind of

[1] Vol. 2, p. 129.

[2] *Georgraphical Journal*, Vol. 17, p. 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 17, p. 40.

[4] *Journal of American Geographical and Statistical Society*, Vol. 2, p. 109.

[5] "The Pygmies of Africa," *Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 10, n. s., p. 574.

religion which one would expect to find among a people so low in the scale of culture, is fetichism; that is, the belief that all phenomena are governed by indwelling spirits, and when the facts are known this kind of religion will, no doubt, be found to prevail. Geil, the latest explorer of the Pygmy forest, says that the people believe in charms and that a chief once said to him, "When we bury a man the body of that man will become a big serpent, and that serpent will come and see us. It will come near to us and coil up but will not bite us." [1] However, owing to their more strenuous life, the Pygmies are probably much less superstitious than the Negroes generally. When people have to put forth great effort to live and are accustomed to overcoming nature, their minds are less inflamed by terror, and their imaginations do not weave so many strange fictions.

Mental and Moral Character.—The Pygmies are bright, quick-witted, and, no doubt, very learned in all that pertains to the animal and plant life of the forest. They reckon their ages by so many moons.[2] They have few abstract ideas. For example, they have no term to express the idea of *words*.[3] One would suppose that they would be somewhat stolid and morose, since it is in the nature of forest people generally to have a gloomy cast of mind,[4] but, according to Geil, they are quite cheerful. He says, "Pigmy land is the Land of Laughter." [5] However, they are probably not quite so gay and light-hearted as the Negroes of West Africa. They are proud and independent [6] but extremely suspicious, shy, cunning, and addicted to lying and stealing.[7] They are very fond of animals, and do not hesitate to associate with them on terms of equality. Stuhlmann informs us that he once saw a Pygmy and a dog eating out of the same dish.[8] The Pygmies are unmerciful to their enemies, but

[1] P. 215. [2] Geil, p. 214. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[4] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 479. [5] P. 247.
[6] Geil, p. 247. [7] Stuhlmann, pp. 447–8. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 447.

loyal to their friends, and devoted to those who show them a kindness. A striking instance of Pygmy fidelity is related by Farini in his book "Eight months in the Kalahari." One day when he was reconnoitring with two members of his caravan, his attention was suddenly called to a strange looking object approaching at a distance of about 1,500 metres, and now and then being hidden from view by the tall grass. Upon its approaching nearer it appeared to be a small boy who was making signs of friendship. Farini, full of wonder at this lone wanderer of the desert, beckoned him to approach. The little fellow hastened his steps, and a closer view revealed the fact that, instead of being a boy, he was an old and wrinkled man—but a Pygmy. How could a forest Pygmy find his way here into the midst of the Kalahari desert? But wait. As the little man could not make his language intelligible to Farini, he made signs by tossing his head like a man in agony and touching at the same time Farini's hand. This sign language was translated to mean that a white man was somewhere sick in the desert and needed succor. The Pygmy made appealing gestures for the men to follow him in haste, and as they mounted their horses to do so, he was frantic with delight, and bounded off leading the way and keeping well in advance of the horses. After traveling a considerable distance, not without apprehensions of being the victims of some savage plot, the party halted near a thicket, dismounted, and were led by the Pygmy into the midst of some prickly bushes. What was their astonishment to behold lying upon the ground a terribly emaciated and blood-clotted white man!

It seems that a German trader who had exchanged some powder, knives, beads, etc., for two hundred head of cattle from a pastoral people of the west side of the desert, and who was making his way southward towards the coast, was obliged to flee into the desert on account of hostilities between the Damaras and Hottentots. Unfortunately, he had

in his employment about ten Hottentots who proved to be traitors. They led him to a desolate spot in the desert and, at an unsuspected moment, looted his camp, made way with the cattle, and inflicted a wound upon him which left him lying insensible upon the ground. However, one member of his caravan remained true to him. It was a Pygmy, known as Korap, who had been following the German trader for two years. He had been captured by a band of Ovampoes and carried away from his country near Lake Ngami. His captors had treated him like a dog, and when the German came along and saw his miserable plight, he took pity upon him and purchased him.

Well, Korap had made an improvised hospital for his wounded master in the thicket, which at least protected him from the wild beasts. For days the little slave nursed his delirious and fever stricken master, and only saved him from starvation by procuring some wild melons, roots, larvæ of insects and a small burrowing animal about the size of a rat. Perhaps it should be mentioned in conclusion that this Pygmy who thus saved his master's life was purchased with one bandanna handkerchief and twenty-five cents' worth of beads.[1]

The Pygmies never had a white missionary among them until lately and they have been so little in contact with the whites that it is impossible as yet to speak of the influence of the whites upon them. An administrative officer of Central Africa said to the adventurer Geil, "We have no plans about the Pigmies and I have thought of nothing for them. They are very good hunters, but that is all. There is nothing to do for the Pigmies."[2] Geil seems to fear the effects of civilization upon them. "I am convinced," he says, "that, whether Pigmy or Giant, Negro or Bantu, Nubian, Azandas or Mambutti, to wash a black is to lose one's soap; to attempt

[1] Farini, pp. 142, 148, 151, 152.

[2] P. 224.

to make a white man of him is to waste time. He should not have, with Christianity, our expensive civilization forced upon him." [1] But whatever might be the effect of civilization upon the Pygmy, it will be a long time before it reaches him.

[1] P. 227.

CHAPTER IV

THE BUSHMEN

Description of the Desert.—The bushmen inhabit the Kalahari desert and its borders. This desert extends from the Orange River in the south to Lake Ngami in the north, and from about twenty-four degrees east longitude to the slopes of the west coast. The amount of rainfall in Africa diminishes as one proceeds southward from the equator. The desert is a kind of elevated basin surrounded at a considerable distance by a part of that mountainous ridge which almost completely encircles the African coast, and which drains the clouds of their moisture before they reach the interior. Hence so little rain falls in the Kalahari region as to give it the character of a real desert. It contains no running water.

Climate.—The climate is dry, and daily alternates between hot and cold. In the middle of the day the temperature often rises above 100° F. and at night descends almost to the freezing point. The rocks crumble under the influence of the burning rays of the sun and are reduced to a fine powder or sand, which is heaped up in ridges by the first gust of wind capable of scooping up a hollow in the surface. Gradually the ridge advances like the waves of the sea with its steepest side leeward, while the sand flying from its crest seems so like the ocean spray that the similarity is almost complete,[1] and the movement of a wagon crossing the dunes looks like a ship riding the waves of the sea.[2] The feet of the traveler or the wheels of a vehicle sink deep into the sand, making a journey through the desert tedious and painful to both man and beast. The mirage sometimes

[1] Baines, p. 5.

[2] Farini, p. 147.

gives the illusion of beautiful green fields, lakes, rivers, glistening pools, and groves of trees reflecting their rich foliage in the water. The likeness to nature is sometimes so vivid and distinct that cattle and dogs run off to the deceitful pools.[1] The moisture of the country is not sufficient anywhere for agriculture, and thousands of square miles are too stony for pasturage.[2]

Vegetable Life.—Nevertheless, the desert is by no means destitute of vegetable life. While thousands of acres are absolutely bare[3] where there is nothing but sand, and nowhere a living creature visible except perhaps an ostrich which can live without drinking,[4] where the traveler passes over dune after dune and ravine after ravine in almost interminable succession,—there are other districts where the barrenness is relieved by oases of trees and grass.[5] The desert, says Livingstone, has "a great variety of creeping plants: besides there are large patches of bushes and even trees. It is remarkably flat, but interspersed in different parts by the beds of ancient rivers." . . . The dry river beds "contain much alluvial soil: and as that is baked hard by the burning sun, rain water stands in pools in some of them for several months in the year. The quantity of grass which grows in this remarkable region is astonishing even to those who are familiar with India. It usually rises in tufts with bare spaces between, or the intervals are occupied by creeping plants which having their roots buried far beneath the soil, feel little the effects of the scorching sun. The number of these which have tuberous roots is very great, and their structure is intended to supply nutriment and moisture." . . . Here, indeed, it may be truly said that many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste its fragrance upon the desert air, but unfortunately some of these blooming species are very poisonous, especially a kind

[1] Livingstone, p. 78. [2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 258.
[3] Farini, p. 88. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 104. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 107, 108.

of lily, which antelopes sometimes nibble by mistake, and in a few minutes become frantic with pain and die in convulsions.[1]

Animal Life.—The amount of animal life in the desert is no less surprising. Prodigious herds of antelopes, which require little or no water, roam over the plains. Great droves of zebras are seen grazing among the patches of grass or moving along in their migrations between the ridges of sand. A number of rhinoceroses dwell in the neighborhood of the pools, roaming over a wide territory during the day and at sunset seeking repose and shelter under some friendly mimosa or projecting rock. Sometimes one of them when seen at a distance is in fact mistaken for a rock.[2] There is a species of rhinoceros in this desert which scarcely ever drinks water, but lives on roots and melons.[3] Lions lurk in ambush near the feeding grounds of the antelopes and zebras, and often prowl about the camps of the travelers and the huts of the natives. Jackals or wild dogs hunt in packs and strike terror among numerous species of quadrupeds. They even bay and whip tigers.[4] Sometimes, however, when they are busy over their booty, the hyena makes them an unexpected social call. They growl and ask the visitor to wait a bit; the bones are not quite ready; please be seated until we finish them. But the hyena wishes to eat at the first table, and comes forward without ceremony. Thereupon the jackals declare that they are opposed to social equality anyway, and not wishing to dine with a citizen of such odious reputation, withdraw into the bushes where they watch the intruder in silent contempt. Pretty soon, several lions, catching a whiff of the banquet table, approach with cautious steps, and deploy near the booty to prevent its escape. Finding, however, the meal already prepared, they dismiss the host and sit down and enjoy themselves. When they have had enough, the jackals return to clear the table by gnawing the fragments that the kings of the desert have been kind enough

[1] Farini, p. 153. [2] Baines, p. 308. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 153. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

to leave.[1] Other animals of the desert are the elephant, giraffe, gazelle, leopard, antelope, baboon and monkey.[2] The chief bird is the ostrich, but many other species frequent the pools and brush, such as ducks, geese, cranes, flamingoes, etc. It is said that cranes sometimes fly overhead in such great flocks as to obscure the sunlight.[3] Vultures abound, and are first at the feast when man or beast perishes in this desolate region.[4] Flamingoes may be seen standing four feet high along the banks of a pool with their white plumage and scarlet wings, resembling very much a column of infantry with red jackets and white caps and trousers.[5] The desert fauna includes numerous snakes, frogs, rodents, and a superabundance of insects such as flies, gnats, and a minute species of bee which gets in man's eyes, nose, ears, and under his shirt.[6]

Description of the People.—The Bushmen average about four feet and nine inches in height, the men being only slightly taller than the women.[7] They have a broad, low forehead, which, instead of receding, bulges out; long, narrow head, broad, prominent cheek bones and prognathus jaws.[8] The sutures of their skulls close comparatively early.[9] The profiles are somewhat concave, their eyes small, bright and often a little oblique.[10] Their mouths, like those of the Pygmies, are snouty.[11] They are steatopygous, but the absence of flesh in other parts of the body causes their skin to wrinkle as in old age. They have little body hair and only rudimentary beard and mustache.[12] The men often have an extraordinary development of the pectoral glands, and Fritsch says that cases are known where, upon the death of a mother, the father has suckled the surviving child.[13] The

[1] Farini, pp. 257, 408. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 404. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 257. [5] Baines, p. 5. [6] Decle, p. 56.
[7] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 266; Fritsch, p. 397.
[8] Fritsch, p. 410; Recluse, Vol. 4, p. 110; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 287. [9] Fritsch, p. 414.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 410; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 267.
[11] Fritsch, p. 410. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 403. [13] P. 407.

varied physical activities of the Bushmen give them great suppleness and a certain natural grace and elegance of carriage.[1] The extreme mobility of their lumbar region enables them to curl up in a very small knot. Their skin is somewhat lighter than that of the Pygmies, and is described as yellow or "fawn yellow."[2] Fritsch thinks that the Bushmen belong to the aboriginal inhabitants of Africa.[3] The neighbors of the Bushmen, on the east of the desert, are the Kaffirs, Bechuanas and other branches of the Bantu race; and on the west, the Damaras, Namaquas, Ovampos and other branches of the Koi-Koin. South of the desert are the Hottentots. The Bushmen wear leather aprons about their loins, and leather straps around their legs as protection against the thorns.[4] They sometimes carry animal skins on their shoulders and sleep in them at night.[5] On cold nights they sit around a fire, turning first one side and then the other until "overdone on both sides."[6]

Habitations.—The Bushmen homes are sometimes huts of sticks and grass, sometimes nests in the bushes, and sometimes rock-caves; sometimes only holes dug in the sand with the excavated earth thrown up to windward; and again only shelters made by fixing a few sticks in the ground and covering them with mats, plaited by the women, or pieces of hides.[7] "In a bushy country," says Moffat, "they will form a hollow in a central position and bring the branches together over the head. Here the man, his wife and probably a child or two, lie huddled in a heap, on a little grass, in a hollow spot, not larger than an ostrich's nest. Where brushes are scarce, they form a hollow under the edge of a rock, covering it partly with reeds or grass, and they are

[1] Fritsch, p. 401.

[2] Deniker, p. 455; Reclus, Vol. 4, p. 110; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, pp. 266, 267. [3] P. 466. [4] Grosse, p. 101.

[5] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 269. [6] MacKenzie, p. 138.

[7] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 271; Wood, p. 274.

often to be found in the fissures and caves of the mountains." [1] Here and there are thickets which form natural forts in which the natives may hide in perfect security from the wild beasts.[2]

Utensils.—The utensils consist of egg-shells and gourds for storing water, mortars for grinding, spoons made from calabashes cut in two,[3] and an antelope horn, worn around the neck, which serves as a pocket for tobacco and ointment.

[1] P. 56. [2] Farini, p. 147. [3] Decle, p, 52.

CHAPTER V

THE BUSHMEN (*Continued*)

Method of Travel.—When a family migrates "the man takes his spear and suspends his bow and quiver on his shoulder, while the woman, frequently in addition to the burden of a helpless infant, carries a mat, an earthen pot, a number of ostrich egg-shells and a few ragged skins bundled on her head and shoulder."[1] Having no boats they cross the large streams by floating upon logs.[2] Before the arrival of the European in South Africa neither the Bushmen nor Hottentots knew anything of navigation, and used water only to quench their thirst.[3]

Weapons and Implements.—The weapons and implements of the Bushmen are the bow and arrow, club, a digging stick for roots and rodents, a knob-kerry or throw-stick for small animals and birds, and sometimes a spear five or six feet long.[4] The bow is generally taller than its owner. The bow string is made of the twisted sinews of animals, and the arrow-points are made of the shin-bone of the antelope or leg-bone of the ostrich, and are poisoned with various vegetable and animal substances.[5] When concocting their secret poison they assemble around a pot throwing into it bits of venom, and dancing, gesticulating and singing like the witches in Macbeth. In this dance they imitate so perfectly the capers of wild beasts when poisoned that the onlooker can recognize each animal represented.[6]

Vegetable Food.—The Bushmen live entirely by hunting and gathering from the scant vegetation of the desert.

[1] Moffat, p. 53.
[2] Farini, p. 106.
[3] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 327.
[4] Baines, p. 363.
[5] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 270.
[6] Farini, p. 287.

Among the tuberous roots already mentioned, is one called *leroshua*, which is a very important article of the people's bill-of-fare. "We see," says Livingstone, "a small plant with linear leaves and a stalk not thicker than a crow's quill: on digging down a foot or eighteen inches, we come to a tuber, often as large as the head of a young child: when the rind is removed, we find it to be a mass of cellular tissue filled with fluid much like that in a young turnip. Owing to the depth beneath the soil at which it is found, it is generally deliciously cool and refreshing. . . . But the most surprising plant of the desert is the keme, the water-melon. In years when more than the usual quantity of rain falls, vast tracts of the country are literally covered with these melons. . . . Then animals of every sort and name, including man, rejoice in the rich supply. The elephant, true lord of the forest, revels in this fruit and so do the different species of rhinoceros. . . . The various kinds of antelope feed on them with equal avidity, and the lions, hyenas, jackals and mice all seem to know and appreciate the common blessing."[1] "The Bushmen," says Farini, "live almost exclusively from the oleaginous seed of the soma (melon) and in the seasons of plenty, fatten like hogs in the pasture. Why give themselves trouble to run after antelopes when it is only necessary to stoop down and gather the seeds of the melon?"[2] This melon, by the way, remains upon the ground an entire year without rotting.[3] The Bushmen eat numerous roots, and drink a kind of liquor made from berries fermented in water.[4]

Methods of Hunting.—But the vegetable resources of the desert are too poor in some districts and seasons to supply a sufficient amount of nourishment, and the people are obliged to have recourse to the animal world. They must wage war with the wild beasts and either conquer them or

[1] P. 54. [2] P. 130. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 136. [4] Baines, p. 94.

be conquered by them. It is a royal battle and the victory is almost as often on the one side as the other. In this contest it is rare that the Bushmen have the help of the dog,[1] whose share of the booty is too often needed by his master. Hence the dog finds his best companions among his wild congeners of the desert. It is not every day that the natives encounter the big animals such as the elephant and buffalo, but when they do, it is their custom to shoot them with poisoned arrows and follow them until they succumb from exhaustion. The Bushmen display extraordinary boldness and do not hesitate to attack the most formidable of beasts. The lion even falls a victim to their superior cunning and courage. They sometimes kill this king of the desert in the following manner. After watching him make a full meal of some prey, "two Bushmen hunters creep up to the spot where the animal is reposing, according to his custom, and approach so silently that not a cracked stick announces the presence of the enemy. One of them takes off his kaross (a skin cloak) and holds it with both hands, while the other prepares his weapons. When all is ready, a poisoned arrow is sent into the lion's body, and, simultaneously with the twang of the bow-string, the kaross is flung over the animal's head so as to bewilder him when he is so unceremoniously aroused, and to give the bold hunters time to conceal themselves. The lion shakes off the blinding cloak and bounds off in terror which soon gives way to pain and in a short time the animal dies in convulsive agonies."[2] In pursuing the game the Bushmen rival the dog. "They follow a track at a rapid pace over ground rather thickly covered with vegetation, hardly seeming to give it any attention, and only when it makes a sudden turn, do they betray by gesture the close observation which they give to the most inconspicuous objects."[3] They seem to have a cat's sense of direction, and

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 271.

[2] Wood, p. 287.

[3] Fritsch, p. 425.

never have any trouble in going in a straight line to any place or finding their way home. Theal says that "even a child of nine or ten years of age, removed from its parents to a distance of over a hundred miles and without opportunity of observing the features of the country traversed, could months later return unerringly."[1] One of the favorite methods of capturing ostriches is for the Bushman to conceal himself in one of their nests, and when the birds return after sundown, to shoot one or more of them with his arrows. It is to be remembered that several birds deposit their eggs in the same nest.[2] According to another method, the Bushman places the upper part of his body in the skin of an ostrich, chalks his legs white, and saunters among the birds, artfully imitating their movements and manner of feeding. When near enough, he draws his bow, lets fly his arrows and brings down four or five birds.[3] He plucks out the feathers carefully and preserves them in hollow reeds until he has a chance to exchange them for tobacco or other article.[4] The Bushman catches many animals in pits and traps, and imitates the cry of birds in order to get within bow-shot of them.

Preparing and Eating Animal Food.—The animal diet of the Bushmen includes numerous rodentia and small species of the feline race,[5] also locusts mixed with honey which the Boers call Bushman pudding. Usually the Bushmen cook their meat by placing it in a hole under the fire and covering it with ashes.[6] Farini says, "I have seen two Bushmen at sunset kill an antelope, and not rise from the feast until next day at noon when nothing remained but the bones."[7] Often after eating the meat from a carcass they reheat the bones, crush them and suck out the marrow;[8] and sometimes they eat skin, head and entrails.[9] On one occasion some

[1] P. 17. [2] Wood, p. 276. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 278.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 278. [5] Livingstone, p. 53. [6] Baines, p. 362.
[7] P. 104. [8] Wood, p. 268. [9] Farini, p. 87.

Bushmen were seen eating a python and also a small gazelle which the reptile had swallowed.[1] Quite a delicacy among the Bushmen are the larvæ of ants which the Boers call Bushman rice.[2] The Bushmen do not hesitate to eat lice or an embryo bird which they may find in an ostrich egg. Sometimes in the midst of the desert when there is no sign of water anywhere, they are charmed by the croaking of frogs. The question arises, how came these amphibians in the desert and how can they live there? It seems that frogs can live wherever there is moisture enough for any kind of vegetation. During seasons of rain they revel in the desert pools, and when the water dries up, they make holes at the roots of certain bushes and there ensconce themselves during the months of drought. As they seldom emerge, a large variety of spider builds a web across the hole, and thus the frogs are furnished with a window and screen gratis. "No one," says Livingstone, "but a Bushman would think of searching beneath a spider's web for a frog."[3] The Bushman method of cleaning a frog is to apply his lips to its antipodes and blow out the intestines through its mouth.[4] Some of these desert frogs are enormous and when cooked look like chickens.[5] Sometimes when the Bushman is in distress the honey bird comes to his rescue. It whistles until it has attracted his attention and then flutters from branch to branch waiting for its two legged partner to advance, and in this way leads him to the hive, which is usually in the trunk of a dead tree.[6] The Bushman eats the honey, wax and larvæ.[7]

Methods of Obtaining Water.—The Bushmen suffer from thirst no less than from hunger. In following the game over miles of country they often go without water for several days. If they come to the dried bed of a river or pond, they take

[1] Decle, p. 52.
[2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 271.
[3] P. 49.
[4] Baines, p. 239.
[5] Livingstone, p. 48.
[6] Decle, p. 57.
[7] Farini, p. 293.

a long reed and tie around one end of it a quantity of grass. This they push as deep as they can into the muddy soil, and allow the water to penetrate this primitive filter. They then draw it up with the mouth and discharge it into an egg shell.[1] Another method of obtaining water is to dig a sort of well and wait for the water to ooze in from the sides. When the mud settles the natives dip it up or lie down and lap it with their tongues.[2] In some places the only supply of water is obtained from the dew which forms upon plants, and which the women suck through quills and preserve in egg shells.[3]

Industrial Arts and Trade.—The manufacturing art among the Bushmen seems to be limited to weapon making and the converting of the giraffe's hide into sandals, whips, etc.[4] They carry on an irregular trade with the Kaffirs in skins, feathers, etc.

Why the Bushmen are Confined to the Desert.—No doubt the reader has already asked himself the question, why do not the Bushmen abandon the desert, and take up their abode in the pastoral region of the south, or in the agricultural region of the east where nature is more full-handed? Alas, these regions are occupied by more power-tribes who will not permit the Bushmen to come among them except as slaves, and who pursue and kill the desert people as though they were wild beasts. And even if the Bushmen were permitted to reside outside of the desert, it is doubtful if they would wish to do so. Demolins asserts that there is no instance in history where hunting people have voluntarily transformed themselves into pastoral people. The hunting life, with all of its hardships, is perhaps the most fascinating of occupations, and no race willingly gives it up. This intense passion for hunting survives as an instinct in all civilized races and is shown among chil-

[1] Wood, p. 278.
[2] Livingstone, p. 63.
[3] Farini, p. 303.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

dren in their fondness for capturing and killing birds and in many of their games such as hide and seek, base, tat, etc.; and it is shown among adults in their hunting recreations, and even also in their love of games of chance, stock gambling and scientific research, in each of which employments there are certain joys, sensations of surprise, of overtaking, of combat and victory for which the hunting life has created a craving.[1] Moreover, the occupation of hunting develops certain instincts and temperaments which are almost impossible to outgrow. For example, the propensity to destroy life which is so strong in the Bushmen that when they steal their neighbor's cattle they immediately kill them. Missionaries have repeatedly tried the experiment of supplying cattle to Bushmen families with the hope of weaning them from their wild life, but in vain. Their instinct is to destroy and not to foster. In a similar manner the effort of the United States Government to transform the Indians from a hunting to a pastoral people has been a signal failure. The hunting life may have its hardships and privations, but it also has its glory, its fascinating and intoxicating excitements, its feeling of independence, its grand victories and exaltations of joy, and the Bushmen love it.

[1] Thomas, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 6, p. 750, "The Gaming Instinct."

CHAPTER VI

THE BUSHMEN (*Continued*)

Family Life.—Contrary to the general rule in Africa, the Bushmen do not purchase their wives. This is because wealth does not exist among them and would be an encumbrance. The capital of a Bushman is his skill and daring, and these are the qualities that win the belles of the desert. When a Bushman desires a wife, he must give proof of his expertness in shooting and hunting. If the girl consents he sends some presents to her parents, and the marriage is celebrated by a carouse.[1] Polygamy, though permitted, is exceptional, as the scarcity of provisions does not enable a man to support more than one wife or set of children. Marriages do not take place between parents and children or brothers and sisters as among the Pygmies.[2] The population is divided into small scattered groups, and the girls marry at the age of puberty and join the groups of their husbands. There are no reasons whatever for delaying marriages. All of the worldly goods necessary for establishing a home can be acquired in a few hours. All that the boy needs is a bow and arrow and knob-kerry, and all that the girl needs is an antelope horn for carrying her face-powder and an egg-shell for carrying water. The Bushmen are not so much absorbed in material possessions as the Kaffirs, and hence have a place in their hearts for their wives and children. The women generally are not valued, as among the Kaffirs, like heads of cattle, but are relatively respected, and are the companions of the men rather than their beasts of burden.[3]

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 275.

[2] Fritsch, p. 445.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 444.

Treatment of Children.—As a rule children receive little attention from their mothers except during a short period of infancy. When a few days old they eat meat, roots and what not, and grow up largely without cleaning, watching or tending.[1] At the age of a few months they crawl upon the sand, and when a year old they run about freely, and even before this time, they learn to search for water-bulbs which lie hidden under the sand and to scrape them up with a short stick.[2] "In general," says Moffat, "children cease to be the object of a mother's care as soon as they are able to crawl about in the field. . . . Bushmen will kill their children without remorse on various occasions, as when they are ill-shaped, when in want of food, when the father of the child has forsaken its mother or when obliged to flee from the farmers (Boers) or others; in which case they will strangle them, smother them, cast them away in the desert or bury them alive." [3] If a mother dies her infant child is buried alive with her.[4] Decle mentions the case of a Bushman who offered to sell his boy for a cup of grain, and, thinking the bargain concluded, got up to go away without a word of adieu.[5]

Children Abandon Parents.—As the Bushmen parents bestow little thought upon their children, it naturally follows that the children bestow little thought upon their parents. Owing to the early age of marriages, parents and children soon part company. They live together only for a short time, and when once separated, seldom if ever see each other afterwards. Hence when the old people are feeble and unable to endure the fatigues of the chase, they have no one to help them and are left by the wayside in the desert to die naturally or be devoured by a hyena or lion. In mitigation of this practice it must be said that it is impossible for the natives to live without rapid and long migrations, and

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 275. [2] Wood, p. 272.
[3] P. 58. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 57. [5] P. 58.

that old people are not able to keep the pace. It is therefore necessity rather than indifference which causes the aged to be abandoned.

Feebleness of Parental Influence.—No race can make much progress unless the parents and children live a long time together so that the mutual sacrifices may kindle affection, and so that the moral precepts and wisdom of the parents may be handed down to the offspring. Yea, the influence of grandparents is necessary. But the children of the desert have neither the influence of the parent nor of the grandparent. In this respect there is a sharp contrast between the savage and civilized child. To illustrate, an old woman in New Jersey, as reported in the New York *Times*, sold her gray hair at $25 per ounce in order that her granddaughter might complete her education. The wig dealer who cut the hair said, "She wrote to us telling of the length of her hair, and of the price she had been told it would bring. As it happened at the time, we had two orders for real white hair, and had searched in vain for the proper length and quality.

"I wrote that I would come to see her on the following day. In the meantime, as I learned later, she sent for her physician. She told him of her purpose. Of course he tried to dissuade her, and finding that useless, consented to tell the girl that her grandmother's hair must be cut off, as it was too great a burden for her to bear in her enfeebled condition.

"There were tears, entreaties and protests on the part of the young girl, but the old grandmother managed to persuade her that it must be. I came the next day. The doctor was there—a stern-faced, middle-aged man, who scowled at me. I was really very uncomfortable. The girl, who could not witness the cutting of her grandmother's 'crowning glory,' had gone away to weep alone. The old woman was sitting up in her bed running her fingers

through the beautiful white waves of her hair that streamed off to the carpet.

"I had never seen such a head of hair. My business heart jumped with greed, and then, as she looked up at me with her angel's face and her great big pitiful eyes the greed was gone and I started crying. It was very unprofessional. 'Sit down, madame,' said she in the gentlest sort of voice, and then she told me why she was willing to sacrifice it.

"'You see the doctor will tell you that I cannot live long, a month or so perhaps, and I would carry this hair to the grave. I'd much rather provide for the little girl.'"

While the Bushmen have practically no grandchildren, in how many instances among civilized people are grandchildren the joy and solace of old age! The human race makes a great step forward when children come to know and reverence their grandparents, and it makes a great step backward when children cease to know them, or when the period of contact between children and parents is voluntarily cut short. It means a reversion to savagery whether it is the result of illegitimacy, State care of children, transient marriages or divorces. The Bushmen exemplify the theory advanced by Drummond and also by Fiske that individual development is in proportion to the prolongation of infancy. Here the period of infancy is reduced to a minimum and the status of the adult is correspondingly low.

Dead Rarely Buried.—The Bushmen rarely bury their dead, but the women sometimes express their grief over the loss of a child or husband by amputating a joint of their little finger.[1]

Political Life.—Politically the Bushmen form very small, loose groups, since the conditions of life forbid any solid organization. Sometimes one of their number is called captain, but this is only nominal.[2] Where any leadership at all

[1] Fritsch, p. 406; Letourneau, "Sociology," p. 224. [2] Fritsch, p. 444.

exists, it depends upon physical strength and not upon rank, age or wisdom. Hence it falls to youth rather than to men ripe in years and experience. The supremacy which the hunting life gives to youth helps to perpetuate the condition of savagery. The leader of the hunt or raid has no idea of internal government. Each member of the group who may be injured by another takes his revenge as suits his impulse. Grosse says that the "Bushmen live in complete anarchy," [1] and according to Livingstone, the only public functionaries of a Bushmen village are some beetles that act in the capacity of sanitary commissioners.[2]

Cattle Raiding.—The political problem is not one of protecting one Bushmen tribe from another, for they are generally too far apart to occasion friction, and besides they have nothing to steal from each other. The problem is one of organized pillage of the pastoral and agricultural tribes on the fringes of the desert, and organized resistance to those tribes. It is customary for bands of Bushmen to make long journeys across the desert to the regions of cattle, followed by women, who carry a supply of water in ostrich egg-shells, which they deposit in the ground at intervals along the route for the men and cattle to drink on the return. The tactics of the Bushmen consist of surprising the Hottentot shepherds, killing them cruelly and making way with the herd.[3] If pursued and overtaken, they shoot all of the cattle with poisoned arrows. Thus their enemies gain nothing by pursuit of them. If for the sake of revenge the pastoral people invade the desert, they are forced soon to turn back for lack of water, while the Bushmen subsist upon the supply which they have hid in the ground, and in the meantime, they scatter in bands of two or three, hide behind ridges, rocks and bushes, and send their deadly arrows into their opponents. The Bushmen poison any pools of water

[1] P. 112. [2] P. 44. [3] Fritsch, p. 420.

that may exist along the route of retreat. Should the cattle be carried off safely into the desert, the Bushmen at once slaughter them and gorge themselves with the flesh.

CHAPTER VII

THE BUSHMEN (*Continued*)

Æsthetic Life.—However, the desert people are not quite so near the animal nature as one would imagine from their hard struggle for existence. They are probably not more sordid and materialistic in their interests and feelings than some of our civilized people of whom all that can be said is that they have "a hand to grasp and a purse to hold." The Bushmen have very strong æsthetic impulses and devote much time to beautifying their bodies, to dancing, drawing and story telling.

Decorations.—Generally they smear their bodies all over with a coating of grease and colored clay or ochre, and sprinkle their hair with a kind of red powder.[1] The men do up their hair in cues to which are attached rabbits' tails, feathers, metallic buttons and other shining objects. As Grosse says, they carry the "hair dressing art to as high a development as is possible with a soil so unproductive of hair."[2] They sometimes wear a head band made of hide and ornamented with ostrich egg-shells, feathers, or the head of a crow.[3] In the way of clothing the men wear a small triangular leather apron, while the women wear the same kind of garment cut into strips and ornamented with beads and egg-shells.[4] Stow saw some women who painted their eyebrows black and their cheeks red. They wore bracelets, anklets and necklaces ornamented with jackals' teeth. Attached to their girdles were receptacles made of horn for carrying their paint, and also tortoise shells containing aromatic berries mixed with fat to charm the other sex.[5]

[1] Grosse, p. 59. [2] P. 87. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 90. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[5] "Interview with a Tribe of Bushmen," *Journal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 3, p. 245.

In some localities the Bushmen tattoo straight lines upon their arms, shoulders and cheeks.[1]

Dancing.—Dancing among the desert people takes place almost every night inside or outside of their huts. If the hut is large enough the spectators circle the inside while a bright fire blazes near the entrance. The roof is generally so low that the artist has to bend over and support his hands upon sticks. He places a rattle on each ankle and dances until out of breath, when he is relieved by another. On moonlight nights the dance is an open air function. The people form a circle and jump and swing their limbs until tired out and covered with perspiration, when they often fall to the ground completely exhausted with blood oozing from their nostrils.[2]

Music.—The Bushmen, as all other Negroes, are much given to singing. They express their vague pent up feelings by humming or chanting improvised phrases in a tone corresponding to their mood. The first songs here, as everywhere, were mere monotonous and melancholy repetitions of a few words, the melancholy element of the song being due to the fact that the life of the savage is so largely made up of privations and sensations of terror that in his moments of reverie, his mind is filled with painful longings and reminiscences. The Bushmen music is thus described by a European: "We had gradually become so accustomed to the monotonous sound of the Bushmen music that our sleep was never disturbed by it, but it rather put us to sleep. When heard in the distance it is not at all unpleasant, but mournful and soothing. Although the music does not comprise more than six tones, which besides do not belong to our scale, but form intervals quite foreign to it, yet the method of vocalization of these tones, the unusual rhythm and the strangeness—I might say—the wildness of the melody, give it a very peculiar charm.[3]"

[1] Grosse, p. 79. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 216. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

Instruments.—As for musical instruments, the Bushmen have first of all the drum, which is commonly supposed to be the most primitive of all instruments. Instrumental music, in its beginning, was nothing but a monotonous beating of time to accompany the dance, and its first element was therefore rhythm. The drum of the Bushman is made by stretching a hide over an earthen or wooden pot, and it is beat with his fingers.[1] Another instrument is a harp, which is made by attaching a gourd resonator to one end of a huntsman's bow. This rude harp seems to support the theory of Tylor, Drummond and others that the bow, which the savage twanged by the camp-fire, was the first stringed instrument, the ancestor of the piano and all other instruments having strings. The Bushmen have another instrument called the gora, which is made by placing a flat quill in the end of a bow between the string and the rib. It is blown like an harmonicum and sounds like a flute.[2] Still another instrument is a three-stringed guitar.

Painting and Drawing.—The Bushmen paint and draw "astonishingly well." Upon the rocks of the desert and the walls of their caves are thousands of paintings and drawings representing such animals as the elephant, eland, buffalo, antelope, ostrich, hyena, ape, dog, cow, horse, etc. The figures show correct memory for form, a steady hand and great skill, and the native artists can copy any number of the figures with unvarying accuracy.[3] On a certain cave-rock, is one very notable painting, portraying a great event in the life of the people, *i. e.*, a tribe of Bushmen fleeing with stolen cattle and a tribe, perhaps of Hottentots, pursuing. It is not only true to life in subject matter but also in technique.[4]

The Bushmen have no sculpture and do not even ornament their digging stick.[5] Perhaps their mental develop-

[1] Grosse, p. 289. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 291.
[3] Fritsch, pp. 425, 426 [4] Grosse, p. 181. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 187.

ment does not enable them to appreciate beauty in landscape or sky, but they are nevertheless very fond of flowers and their homes "are resplendent at times with the richest and most variegated floral displays." [1]

Animal Legends.—The Bushmen astonish all travelers with their wealth of animal legends, folk-lore and myths.[2] No Africans, says Ratzel, have a more copious store of beast legends.[3] The lion, hyena, ostrich and locust are the inspiration of numerous stories that the people relate with much gesture and mimicry. The heavenly bodies are also interwoven with some of their stories. For instance, they relate in explanation of the stars that "a maiden of a former people from whom the Bushmen sprang, wanted to make light by which men could find their way home. She therefore threw glowing ashes in the air and the sparks became stars." [4]

Reasons for Superiority of Bushmen Art.—The superiority of the Bushmen over the Pygmies in art development is due to two influences, first, contact with the superior races that passed southward along the eastern chain of mountains, and second, the more temperate climate which stimulates the mind and favors reflection. At intervals of leisure the scenes of the past arise in their minds and they attempt to visualize them by painting or drawing them on a rock; or on winter evenings they sit around the camp-fire making music with their harp or gora, and rehearsing in their fancy the events of the day, the past week or year. It is a great step forward when man emerges from the burning rays of the sun and humid atmosphere of the tropics, and begins to warm his body by artificial heat. What has done more to lift man out of his animal nature and to awaken his æsthetic and poetic spirit than the cracking, roaring, glowing and warmth of the camp-fire? In the kaleidoscopic play of the

[1] Grosse, p. 156.
[2] Reclus, Vol. 4, p. 112.
[3] "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 274.
[4] Grosse, p. 254.

blaze the half dreaming savage, doubtless, sees images of elephants, snakes, devils, and also kindly spirits, and perhaps a sweetheart or departed friend. The flame of the camp-fire is the incipient drama, novel, poem and picture gallery, furnishing reminiscences of the past and prophecies of the future. Indeed, it is of profound significance that Moses saw God in a burning bush and that David mused while the fire was burning. And may it not be that the open fire will have to come back into our modern life before we can have another great age of art and literature?

Religion.—The religion of the Bushmen is clearly fetich, although some tribes seem to have caught a smattering of the polytheistic religion of the Hottentots. The lightning, wind, sun and stars and in fact all moving objects are believed to be personalities or spirits. When the Bushmen first saw a wagon they thought it was alive and offered to give it some grass.[1] All calamities as famine, disease and death are attributed to the work of evil spirits. In case of very serious illness several medical men or sorcerers are called to the bedside of the patient, and the line of treatment usually consists of frantic dancing and shouting and magic extraction of the evil spirit. "Sometimes after shaking and otherwise roughly handling, blowing upon or applying the mouth to, some particular part of the body, the sorcerers gravely turn around and exhibit a quantity of goat's hair, a few bird's feathers, a piece of thong or a number of straws, saying that they had extracted them from the head, stomach, legs or the arms of the patient."[2] After this operation the patient feels better.

The belief is general that after death, the spirit in man continues to live. As bearing upon this point, a native proverb says, "Death is but a slumber."[3] Life in the other world is supposed to be the same as in this, and perhaps it

[1] Spencer, "Principles of Sociology," Vol. 1, p. 143.
[2] Kay, p. 406.
[3] Quatrefages, p. 202.

is on account of this belief that the natives place a spear by the side of the dead man that he may hunt and defend himself.[1] The Bushmen venerate a species of caterpillar, and when they go hunting, beg it to guide their arrows.[2] They also show special reverence for a species of antelope—the blesbok. Some tribes believe in a sort of heaven where a great chief lives who is believed to be "master of all things." He makes to live and die and is prayed to in times of famine and before going to war.[3] They also believe in a bad deity or devil who is up to all kinds of mischief.

The Bushmen have no idols or priests. They reckon with their deities directly by means of charms made of wood, roots and so forth, which they wear around their necks.[4] Upon the whole the Bushmen are much less superstitious or rather their superstitions are less fantastic than those of the Negroes generally.[5]

Mental and Moral Temperament.—It is generally conceded that the Bushmen have very acute senses, great knowledge of nature, love of independence, ability to suffer privations and great courage. A dozen Bushmen are more redoubtable than a hundred Kaffirs.[6] Fritsch says that in keenness of senses, cunning and skill, they surpass all other South African races.[7] When hunting they show great patience, and know no hunger or thirst as long as they see a prospect of booty.[8] But they have almost no foresight[9] or power of self-control. To every demand of passion or appetite they yield obedience and never give a thought to the consequences.[10] Like many civilized people, they have wonderful knowledge but no ability to discipline their appetites and passions. They resemble children who live only for the present. They are much inclined to theft and robbery, for the reason that, having no property of their own,

[1] Quatrefages, p. 201. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 202. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 203. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 202. [6] Fritsch, p. 421.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 423. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 424. [9] Farini, p. 303. [10] Fritsch, p. 419.

they have never had a chance to learn how to respect that of others.[1] However, they are not at all treacherous or hostile to those who show themselves friendly, as the long list of European explorers who have gone unharmed among them abundantly proves.[2] In Bushmen families there is almost no transmission of knowledge to posterity because of the fact that the early separation of children from parents breaks the link between one generation and another. Each individual accumulates his little stock of knowledge by personal experience and when he dies it is buried with him or vanishes in the desert air.

Effect of Contact With the White Man.—The Bushmen have not been benefited by their acquaintance with the white man. The Dutchmen have shot them down as vermin. "Barrow relates that when on the frontier a Boer being asked in the Secretary's office, if the savages were numerous or troublesome on the road, replied that he had only shot four, with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges." Between 1786 and 1795 the Dutch killed 2,480 Bushmen.[3] Many Bushmen have been captured and enslaved, some have been preached to by missionaries and some have mixed their blood with the white race. Since the extension of the British protectorate north to the Zambesi, the system of servitude of Bushmen to the Bechuana tribe has been abolished and some of the Bushmen are adapting themselves to settled habits of life. "Instead of dwelling amid rocks, following the quarry and shooting cattle with poisoned arrows," says Keane, "they seek employment as farm hands and herds, are put in charge of flocks by their former Bechuana masters and even have flocks of their own in the very heart of the Kalahari Desert, where they know better than any others where to dig for water."[4] But each year as a result of European interference

[1] Fritsch, p. 419.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 422.
[3] MacKenzie, p. 510.
[4] Keane, "The Boer States," p. 79.

they have dwindled in numbers, receded farther into the desert and shown an aversion to civilized institutions. MacKenzie remarks that, "The white man destroys their hereditary food and suddenly renders their traditional mode of life impossible. The wild beasts perish before the gun and the country is cut up into farm lots and sites for towns. The Bushmen become, as it were, strangers in their own country. They look for the game and find only sheep and cattle. They look for the roots and berries; they find that the old familiar spots have been turned over by the plow and they see, instead, the corn of the white man waving in the summer breeze. But as they have always lived on what they can find in the open country they will do so still. They seize sheep and cattle and fleeing into the wilderness slaughter and make merry."[1] "Those of mixed blood," says Theal, "could not exist in the presence of a high civilization, but dwindled away rapidly and have now nearly died out altogether. It would seem that for them (the pure Bushmen?) progress was possible in no other way than by exceedingly slow development and blending their blood in successive stages with races always a little more advanced."[2] . . "Their low intelligence, idleness and proclivity to drink will lead within a few years to their absolute extermination."[3]

[1] Keane, "The Boer States," p. 511. [2] P. 19.
[3] P. 509; Farini also prophesies their early extinction, p. 104.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HOTTENTOTS

Description of the Country.—The Hottentots once occupied almost all of the region east and south of the Kalahari Desert, including Cape Colony. Keane says that, "The former range of the Hottentots from Nama and Dama lands to the eastern seaboard below the Limpopo is established by the still surviving Hottentot names of mountains and rivers in the territories from which they were afterwards driven by the Bantu invaders from the north."[1] But since the arrival of the white man in South Africa they have been gradually driven north and west, and their present home is north of the Orange River and west of the desert,—a country coincident with Great Namaqua Land.

In South Africa the coast rises rather abruptly from the ocean, and is bordered by an almost continuous chain of mountains, varying in height from 1,600 to 10,000 feet. In the interior between these mountain ranges is an elevated undulating plateau, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 feet in height.[2] On account of the distance from the equator the amount of the rainfall would be very small and the desert conditions become much intensified, but for the narrowness of the Continent at the south which permits the clouds from the surrounding oceans to penetrate the interior before losing all of their moisture. Nevertheless, the wall of mountains that encloses the interior uplands robs the clouds of much of their water, and as one advances northward the rainfall diminishes until it finally almost ceases at the Kalahari Desert.

[1] "The Boer States," p. 82.

[2] Reclus, Vol. 4, pp. 81, 85.

The precipitation is not sufficient to support a large forest growth except on the southern slopes of the highlands which skirt the seaboard. The interior plateau receives just enough rain to give life to grass, small bushes and stunted trees. In some places the country is level and open, having wide areas of beautiful pasture fields, but as one nears the Orange River or crosses it, the vegetation becomes more scant, and a vast region opens up, dotted here and there only with patches of grass and scrub, and which is known as the Great Karroo,—a Hottentot word meaning arid land. Towards the north are numerous depressions where the rain water lodges, evaporates and leaves upon the ground a saline efflorescence.[1] Many rivers rising in the Great Karroo never reach the ocean.[2] Even the tributaries of the Orange River often dry up except in the little, scattered reservoirs along their beds.[3] There is no very marked rainy or dry season. "Showers occur everywhere even on the inland plateaux throughout the whole year, although usually distributed with a certain regularity from month to month.[4] . . . Gradually as we advance from the coast to the interior, the climate acquires a more continental and extreme character, becoming not only colder in winter which might be explained by the greater altitude of the land, but also much warmer in summer." [5]

Animal Life.—This region is, or was, rich in animal life. It is the home of the elephant, hippopotamus, buffalo, antelope, zebra, giraffe, elk, wild ass, lion, hyena, jackal, leopard, wild dog, monkey, and numerous birds including the ostrich. It has a variety of snakes including the cobra, garter and puff-adder.[6] Owing to the encroachments of the white man many of the larger animals have retreated northward.

Description of the People.—The Hottentots are a short race having many points of resemblance to the Pygmies and

[1] Reclus, Vol. 4, p. 84. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 91. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 89. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 97. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 107; Moffat, p. 119.

Bushmen. Their language is akin to that of the Bushmen, being characterized by a series of clicks which sound like a white man's cluck to a horse. The Hottentot's head is long and depressed, his forehead narrow and his jaws prognathus. The calves of his legs and his forearms are lean, and his pelvis is narrow. He has very pronounced steatopygy which is found also to some extent among the Bushmen and Pygmies. His skin is a brownish yellow, dry and wrinkled. His hair is coarse and tightly felted. The odor from his skin is not very strong.[1]

The dress of both sexes consists of a koross or cloak made of the skin of a sheep, jackal or wildcat. On rainy days it is worn with the wool outside. The men wear leather sandals for long marches, and leather pouches suspended from their necks for carrying their pipes, charms and ornaments. They have a sweat-wiper or combination handkerchief and fly-brush, made of a fox-tail tied to the end of a stick.[2] The men go bareheaded while the women, at least in some districts, wear pointed caps.

Cattle Breeding and Hunting.—The Hottentots are chiefly a pastoral people. They keep great herds of cattle and considerable quantities of sheep and goats. Their food is principally milk and butter. They seldom slaughter their cattle but eat all that die of old age or disease.[3] The men spend much time in hunting, and any surplus meat that they obtain is dried and powdered, so as to be available for war expeditions or for the next hunt.[4] A man who kills a dangerous beast is much honored. The people assemble in public to celebrate his triumphal return from the combat. His body is sprinkled with the ashes from a pipe that has been smoked in common and then the fetich man performs the ceremony of washing his body with a copious stream of

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, pp. 283, 284; Fritsch, pp. 272, 278.
[2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, pp. 285, 286.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 289.
[4] Reclus, Vol. 4, p. 114.

cow-liquid. After this he is feasted and permitted to wear on his head as a badge of honor the bladder of the animal he has slain.[1]

Dwellings.—The houses of the people are mere shelters or tents each consisting of a frame of staves which is covered with mats and hides. Rocks are used for ballast. The tents are arranged in a circle with a space in the centre for the herd.[2] This style of tent is admirably suited to a people who have to make frequent changes of camp in quest of fresh pastures, and the circular arrangement is an excellent device for protecting their herds from the attacks of wild beasts or hostile neighbors.

Utensils.—The utensils of the Hottentots are clay pots, some spoons carved out of wood or bone, a few iron knives, and some calabashes.

Transportation.—When the Hottentots find it necessary to move, the "mattings, and the framework of the tent which consists of semicircular boughs, are packed on oxen. Their household utensils such as calabashes, milk pails and pots, are suspended to the boughs and in the midst of all this confusion is often seated the good dame of the house, surrounded by her promising offspring." [3]

Industrial Arts.—In the industrial arts the Hottentots are ahead of the Pygmies or Bushmen. They make more articles of clothing, and more utensils and weapons. They use a sheepskin bellows, and manufacture numerous fabrics of iron and copper. They plait cards, weave mats, and dress skins and furs. Their weapons comprise an assegai or javelin, bow and arrow, throw-stick, club, and knife.

Trade.—Trade is little developed owing to the self-sustaining nature of the pastoral life, and the insular position of the country which separates it from the rest of the world

[1] Featherman, p. 507.
[2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 289.
[3] Andersson, p. 253.

by seacoasts and mountains. However, they trade somewhat in cattle, hides and ivory with their neighbors.[1] Cattle is their money and standard of value.

Slavery.—Slavery as an institution does not exist, although a few captives are sometimes used as shepherds or gardeners. The labors of the pastoral life are light, and, if work other than that done by the pastoral group were needed at times, it would be cheaper to hire laborers temporarily than to maintain them throughout the year. On the other hand, if any number of individuals should be without capital, *i. e.*, cattle, they would be obliged to work for wages. But as all Hottentots belong to patriarchal groups having plenty of land and cattle, all of the necessary work can be done by the members of the groups, and there is therefore no need for a wage-class or slave class. Among strictly pastoral people slavery is never profitable and can exist only to a very limited extent.[2]

[1] Kelbe, p. 368.

[2] Nieboer, p. 256; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 289.

CHAPTER IX

THE HOTTENTOTS (*Continued*)

Family Life.—Marriage is an affair for the parents, and is arranged by purchase in terms of so many head of cattle. The practice of selling daughters begins all over the world as soon as capital comes to be necessary to existence. This is because children become expensive to raise, and at the marriageable age have a high economic value for their parents. Girls are nubile when twelve years old and are often bargained for at the age of six or seven years. Intermarriage of blood kin is not permitted as near as first cousins.[1] Polygamy is common, and men who accumulate large herds of cattle always have several wives. Husbands and wives eat apart from each other.[2] The new-born infant is welcomed into the world by having its body anointed with grease and smeared over with cow dung. Deformed or sickly children or twins are sometimes exposed to wild beasts. A peculiar fact is that the girls take the name of their father and the boys that of their mother. A married woman has considerable authority in the family. Quatrefages says that she "reigns supreme mistress. She controls and owns everything, and the husband cannot without her permission take a bit of meat or a drop of milk."[3] If her husband comes back empty handed from the chase she sometimes "unties her only article of clothing, her apron of modesty, and with it slaps him on the face."[4] This spirit of independence among women is due to their economic im-

[1] Ratzel "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 291; Letourneau, "Sociology," p. 337. [2] Kelbe, p. 325. [3] "Pygmies," p. 196.
[4] Letourneau, "Sociology," p. 445.

portance. While the men spend their days hunting or idling in the shade, the women attend to the cattle, sheep and goats, and supply the means of subsistence without which the men could not live. Neither as defenders of the group nor as producers are the men of great importance. The lion's share of the work falls to the women;[1] they are the real supporters of the population,[2] and consequently occupy a relatively elevated position. Among the Iroquois Indians of America and the Tuaregs of the Sahara Desert, the women also have great authority and independence, and for the same reason, to wit, that they are more important relatively than men in maintaining the population. The position of women everywhere seems to correspond closely to their economic status.

Parents and children live longer together among the Hottentots than among the Bushmen. It is very common for married sons to continue to live in the group with their parents, and for grandparents to live with and care for their grandchildren.[3] Some of the Hottentot women make a practice of amputating a joint of one of their little fingers,[4] probably as an expression of grief over the death of a child or husband. The family life is upon a somewhat higher plane among the Hottentots than among the Bushmen or Pygmies. The father is the head of the family, and descent is traced in the male line. Traditions and precepts are therefore better transmitted from generation to generation. In some places, however, on the edges of the desert, the Hottentots sink to the level of the Bushmen, and old people are sometimes "abandoned by their children with a meal of victuals and a cruise of water to perish in the desert."[5] An old woman met in the desert by Moffat said to him "Yes, my own children, three sons and two daughters, they are gone," pointing with the finger, "to yonder blue moun-

[1] Fritsch, p. 325. [2] Featherman, p. 513. [3] Moffat, p. 134.
[4] Fritsch, p. 332. [5] Moffat, p. 133.

tain and have left me to die. . . . I am old, you see, and I am no longer able to serve them. When they kill the game, I am too feeble to help in carrying home the flesh. I am not able to gather wood and make fire, and I cannot carry their children on my back as I used to."[1] Fritsch says that old people are sometimes put on pack oxen, provided with a store of provisions and led into the wilderness to perish.[2]

Inheritance in the Male Line.—Property descends to the eldest son,[3] but this practice does not constitute a patriarchal régime such as exists generally in the pastoral regions of Asia. The inheriting son does not obligate himself to support the other members of the family. His brothers usually hire themselves for wages until they can buy cattle and start for themselves. The cattle all graze in the same pasture but each man or woman in the family has his or her individual holdings. Sometimes a father gives to his younger non-inheriting children a few oxen or sheep when they marry.[4] Sometimes the wife inherits the property if the heir is not of age.[5]

Political Life.—The Hottentots are divided into kraals of 100 to 200 people, situated two or three days' march apart. Each kraal has a chief. There is no coöperation of groups, and hence no chief or king having jurisdiction over any considerable territory. The office of chief is sometimes temporary and again hereditary. Occasionally women become chiefs or kings when the heir to the chieftainship is under age. There is no political or social hierarchy or aristocracy. All men are freemen, and weighty matters are settled in a council composed of old men.[6] The Hottentots are not warlike, although kraals are often at war with each other, and have to defend themselves against the at-

[1] P. 134. [2] P. 334. [3] Fritsch, p. 335; Kelbe, p. 381.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 357; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 291.
[5] Quatrefages, p. 195. [6] Fritsch, p. 321; Reclus, Vol. 4, p. 115.

tacks of the Bushmen, Kaffirs and other unfriendly neighbors.

Æsthetic Life.—In æsthetic development the Hottentots are perhaps ahead of the Bushmen except in drawing and painting. They, like the Bushmen, tattoo their cheeks,[1] smear their bodies with grease and paint their faces.[2] They wear more clothing than the Bushmen, and make it more ornamental. Their cloaks are embellished around the neck and shoulders with a profusion of embroidery and fur trimmings.[3] They wear copper earrings, and leg-rings made of strips of sheepskin.

Almost every night they have some kind of festival which is celebrated by dancing[4] and which lasts until daylight.[5] The mimic element, however, does not enter into their dances, and they have no war-dances as among their neighbors, the Bantus.[6] Their musical instruments consist of the drum, gora, reed-flute, etc.[7] In the matter of ghost and animal stories, the Hottentots represent a decided advance over the Bushmen in that their stories have a moral attached to them as in the case of Æsop's fables.[8]

Religion.—The religion of the Hottentots is a well developed polytheism with a considerable admixture of fetichism. Some of their gods are good and some bad. Their chief benevolent god is Tsui-Goa described as having been "a great chief from whom were descended all the Khoi Khoi tribes.[9] He is the author of all good and to him the people offer prayers. The second important benevolent god is Heitsi-eibib who is a sort of grandfather of the whole people. A story explaining his origin is to the effect that a virgin once sucked the juice of a certain grass stalk and in consequence she bore a son who grew rapidly to manhood. This boy, the people believed, had been born several times

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 286. [2] Andersson, p. 259.
[3] Reclus, Vol. 4, p. 114. [4] Fritsch, p. 326. [5] Featherman, p. 511.
[6] Fritsch, p. 328. [7] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 286.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 294. [9] Quatrefages, p. 205.

before, and consequently was recognized this time as their grandfather who had returned to his children.[1] Another god of high rank is Toosib, a sort of Neptune, god of waters. Before drinking at certain rivers, one must throw in some little offering and make a prayer.[2] The Hottentots have great veneration for the moon whose appearance is celebrated by dancing. They call it their great captain and offer it sacrifices of milk and animals.[3] The Pleiades receive homage as the stars of rain, and their annual return announces the opening of the rainy season.[4] The supreme bad deity is Gaunab who has many satellites that go abroad on missions of evil. All criminals, and all slaves who have been killed by their masters, and all enemies slain in battle are given to wild beasts, and when devoured, become ministering spirits of this evil deity.[5] Among other powerful deities is one who governs storm-clouds and another who manipulates the thunder.[6] Less important deities, spirits and ghosts are countless. Nearly all deceased people continue to live as genii. "Those persons who were always distinguished by wisdom and by virtues and who have been regularly buried, are for the Hottentots so many good genii. . . . In each family the ancestors are considered almost as household gods.[7] The spirits of bad people become agents of the wicked Guanab. They wander about on dark nights, enter kraals and terrify the inhabitants.[8] The average individual is not able to cope with these numerous deities and spirits, and hence there arise professionally trained men who make a specialty of conjuring with them. These professional men are variously characterized as witch-doctors, necromancers, exorcists, rain-doctors, and magic-men. A witch-doctor is

[1] Quatrefages, p. 213. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 220.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 217; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 293.
[4] Quatrefages, p. 221. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 228. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 228. [8] Fritsch, p. 338.

called upon in all cases of sickness caused by evil spirits. Sometimes he cuts a hole in the body of the patient near the seat of the disease and pretends to extract a snake, lizard, frog or other varmint which some mischievous spirit has put there.[1] If the patient is very ill, the doctor will diagnose the case by skinning a live sheep. If the skinned sheep then runs away the patient will recover, but if it stands still, the patient will die.[2] The Hottentots, in common with their kinsmen the Bushmen, have no temples or idols.[3] Each kraal has its priest who is elected and holds a minor rank. He is more of a master of ceremonies than a religious leader.[4] Sacrifices are offered on various occasions under his direction.[5]

Mental and Moral Temperament.—In mental and moral character the Hottentots represent a decided advance over the Pygmies and Bushmen. They have developed a complete decimal system of counting which was favored, as a matter of course, by the necessity of keeping account of their cattle.[6] It is not at all surprising that mathematical science should have first developed among pastoral people, since counting is so essential to the pastoral life. It is said that the Hottentots know every cow by sight, and can often locate a thief who has stolen a cow by the markings of her offspring.[7] The pastoral life would be impossible without some foresight, and the Hottentots are not altogether wanting in this faculty. The better knit family and longer period of association between parents and children facilitate the transmission of accumulated capital and wisdom. As nature is not so hostile in its manifestations the people are not so much terrified by it, and hence their gods are not altogether evil and vindictive as are those among the natives of the equatorial regions where nature is violent and life constantly

[1] Andersson, p. 255. [2] Ratzel, Vol. 2, p. 291. [3] Quatrefages, p. 230.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 231. [5] Fritsch, p. 341. [6] Quatrefages, p. 197.
[7] Baines, p. 237.

beset with dangers. The Hottentots say that their great god has done them nothing but good and is therefore not feared.[1] The contending of good and evil gods corresponds to man's incipient moral development, and the struggle between good and evil in his heart. As the benevolent gods come to be more and more venerated, it indicates a growing preponderance among the people of the gentler and more humane feelings. The incipient ethical nature of the people is further shown in the morals attached to their animal stories. The Hottentots are docile, mild, cheerful and "remarkable for their unselfish liberality, and their fervent attachment to their friends and kindred with whom they would share the last morsel, though starvation should stare them in the face."[2] They do not bear lasting hatred towards their worst torturers.[3] Yet they are not lacking in spirit, and as enlisted soldiers under the British in South Africa, have shown themselves formidable in the wars against the Kaffirs.[4] The word Hottentot has been thoughtlessly used by the white people of Europe as a synonym for the lowest type of savage, whereas, the fact is, that it should stand for a people who rank much above the average of the Negro races. Perhaps the contempt in which the Hottentots have been held is due to the fact that along with their virtues they exhibit many of the vices that distinguish the Negro races generally, such as indolence, lying, stealing and incontinence of the passions. Andersson says, "They may be seen basking in the sun for days together in listless inactivity, frequently almost perishing from thirst or hunger, when with very little exertion, they may have it in their power to satisfy the cravings of nature."[5] Nevertheless, they are more active than the Bantus of the adjacent country.[6] The Hottentots, says Baines, make raids and steal wholesale and retail, think nothing of lying and get drunk on

[1] Ratzel, Vol. 2, p. 293. [2] Featherman, p. 501. [3] Fritsch, p. 307.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 305. [5] P. 239. [6] Fritsch, p. 303.

native berry wine or any other beverage that may be at hand.[1] Fritsch states that if they are not restrained from lying, stealing and sensuality through fear of punishment, they will not be restrained by conscience.[2] They are intelligent and quick to learn European customs, but their very virtues operate to their undoing because of the bad habits which their facility to learn introduces. Their love for liquor and other luxuries disorganizes their life and tempts them to part with their land piece by piece to the white man.[3] Before their tribal life was disorganized by the white man those who inherited no property would volunteer to work for wages and accumulate a herd of cattle, but after their native institutions were overthrown, they seemed disinclined to serve as wage earners to the white man and would not work in sufficient numbers or with sufficient continuity to meet the demands. They are thus gradually being driven from their native territory and gradually nearing the end of their career. Keane states that "the Hottentot race has been caught between the upper and nether millstones of the Bantu peoples for many ages continually pressing southward, and the white man for over two centuries coming up from the sea. The result is that their original domain has been very nearly absorbed, and the race itself is nearly expunged except in the extreme west, Namaqualand, and in the Upper Orange, Vaal and Modder valleys, where the Koranas still hang together in small tribal groups, speaking a somewhat corrupt form of the old language and keeping up many of the national usages. . . .

"But all these groups of the Upper Orange basin are doomed to speedy extinction. They are already too degraded and indolent to resist the demoralizing effects of contact with the Boers, by whom they are primed with bad whiskey; and although many flock to the stations of the missionaries, the chief attraction is tobacco,—church and

[1] Pp. 41, 65, 96. [2] P. 307. [3] Fritsch, pp. 305, 307.

school being abandoned when the supply stops." [1] The same gloomy outlook for the Hottentots is expressed by Bryce who says that "Along the south bank of the Orange River and to the north of it, in Great Namaqualand, small tribes substantially identical with the Hottentots, still wander over the arid wilderness. But in the settled part of the colony the Hottentot of whom we used to hear so much and . . . at one time feared so much has vanished more completely than has the Red Indian from the Atlantic States of America. And the extinction or absorption of the few remaining nomads will probably follow at no distant date.[2]

[1] "The Boer States," p. 84. [2] P. 64.

PART II

The Nigritians and Fellatahs

CHAPTER I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY

Limits of the Sudan.—The territory of the Nigritians embraces almost the entire Sudan, extending from the Atlantic on the west to the foot of the Abyssinian highlands in the east. The northern limit of the Sudan forms an irregular line, beginning at the mouth of the Senegal on the west and extending across Lake Chad to about the parallel of Khartum on the east.[1] Some scattered groups of Nigritians live in the desert as far north as Tibesti. The southern limit of the Sudan begins with the line of the Guinea Coast on the west, and extends eastward, following a somewhat straight line to the Galla country.[2] The Fellatahs are scattered among the Nigritians in Central Sudan.

Elevations.—This entire region is relatively low compared to other portions of Africa.[3] From the Mauritanian highlands in the northwest to the Abyssinian highlands in the northeast, the mean altitude is from 1,500 to 2,000 feet, while the southern plateau, apart from the Congo depression, varies from 2,000 to 5,000 feet. The ascent from the Sudan northwards to the Sahara is slight, while marked towards the equator, as for example, from the Benue basin to the Adamawa plateau and from the Bahr el Jebel to the Nile-Congo divide.[4] Lake Chad is only 850 feet above sea level, while Lake Ngami is at an elevation of 2,700 feet, and Lake Victoria 3,800 feet. The Sudan is a vast relatively low plain nowhere above 2,000 feet except in a few mountainous districts in the east and west. The difference in

[1] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 244.
[2] Deniker, p. 444.
[3] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 244.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

elevation between Khartum and Timbuctu is only 390 feet.[1] There are no real mountain ranges in the whole Sudan. The most conspicuous elevations are the Futa Jallon uplands of Sierra Leone reaching an altitude of 4,000 feet or more,[2] the Nauri Mountains north of the Gold Coast, whence descend the Red and White branches of the Volta River, and east of the Niger in the Bauchi district, an alpine system of domes and needles rising to heights of from 4,000 to 7,000 feet.[3]

The Rivers.—A glance at the course of the great rivers will indicate clearly the general contour of the country. From the Futa Jallon Mountains, rivers radiate in all directions like the spokes in a wheel. Those descending from the west side find a rapid and direct exit to the sea, while those descending from the north make great circuits to the east and west. The Niger forms a great bend of 2,600 miles, skirting the desert on the north and emptying into the Gulf of Guinea only 700 miles from its starting point. A great portion of the country on either side towards the Sahara is a broad plain with very slight incline. Here the stream becomes sluggish forming an inland delta and ramifying into numerous channels and backwaters.[4] In the northern bend it has no tributaries except from the desert side and very few at all from Timbuctu to the Benue. After receiving the waters of the Benue it spreads to a great width resembling a lake encircled by hills.[5] Sixty miles from the sea it splits into twelve branches with ramifying channels and lagoons. Allen and Thomson describe it as a vista of water threading itself through interminable green groves.[6]

The Senegal starting also in Futa Jallon makes a great circuit in the opposite direction. As it approaches the Atlantic it expands into an inland sea twelve to fourteen miles

[1] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 277. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 279. [3] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 123.
[4] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 291. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 293. [6] Vol. 2, p. 125.

wide and six hundred miles long with a labyrinth of islands and interpenetrating lakes.[1] It empties into a vast lagoon, its passage to the sea being impeded by a strip of sand fifteen miles long and twenty feet high.[2]

The other rivers of the west are of the same general character. They pass through low lands as they approach the coast and spread into many channels and backwaters. Their mouths are usually not visible from the sea on account of the sand-bars. It may be of interest to mention here that the system of lagoons along the coast, together with the inland bays with their densely wooded shores, offered, during the days of the slave-trade, thousands of secret retreats for the slave-ships and enabled the traffic to be continued in defiance of the British and American cruisers, long after its legal prohibition.[3] On the Gold Coast, however, between the Volta and Comoe Rivers, there are no lagoons. Escarpments abut directly upon the sea forming a shore line marked by steep cliffs.[4] The river valleys as a rule reach far into the interior. The Senegal, for instance, is navigable for 600 miles, the Gambia 300 miles and the Volta 200 miles.[5] At a distance of a hundred miles from the sea, the Casamanza has a width of one and a half miles.[6] The Geba is like a great arm of the sea for a distance of sixty miles inland and is ten miles wide at its mouth.[7] The tide of the Rio Grande is felt sixty miles inland, the lower part of the river forming multitudes of channels, winding around a number of marshy alluvial islands.[8] In the rainy season many of the rivers spread into vast lakes. The Volta in some places rises forty-six feet.[9] The Liberian rivers, however, on account of the elevation of the inland, move more rapidly and do not develop estuaries.[10]

The great river of Central Sudan is the Benue, which

[1] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 133. [2] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 284. [3] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 256.
[4] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 282. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 288. [6] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 179.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 182. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 184. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 238. [10] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 287.

rises not far from Lake Chad, flows placidly in a south-westerly direction for 850 miles and joins its waters to the Niger. After receiving several tributaries from the Adamawa highlands, its volume of water exceeds that of the Niger at the point of confluence. Its headwaters are only 900 feet from sea-level and the fall is therefore scarcely more than one foot per mile.[1] As a rule all of the rivers of the west ooze lazily into the Atlantic, winding among innumerable meshes of spongy islands. In the neighborhood of the upper Niger and Lake Chad, the streams flow plentifully in the wet season and stop completely in the dry season.[2] After crossing the Shari which empties into Lake Chad, and a vast *terra incognita*, the last important river is the Nile with its innumerable tributaries.

Vegetation.—The amount of vegetable life in Africa varies generally according to distance from the equator. The equatorial region is a dense forest resulting from the copious rains, while towards the north and south the amount of rain diminishes and finally ceases almost altogether, giving rise to wide stretches of desert. Only differences of elevation and proximity to the sea modify this general law. At the northern portion of the Sudan the landscape passes into desert. Here are only scant tufts of grass. Mungo Park speaks of the country north of the Senegal and near the village of Benown as a dreary expanse of sand with a few stunted and prickly bushes, in the shade of which the cattle munch the withered grass, while camels and goats pick off the scant foliage. This strip of land extending across the continent and including Nubia, Kordofan, Senaar and Darfur, is a region of drought, locusts and famine.[3] Further south the grass becomes taller and in Senegambia almost reaches the height of a giraffe's head. The boabab, acacia and other trees begin to relieve the barrenness of the

[1] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 294.

[2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 273.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

landscape.[1] The weird-like bombax also soon makes its appearance, and in its large recesses, travelers often take refuge, and the natives there also meet to hold their palavers.[2] Advancing further southward the water courses begin to be lined with trees thickening into forest, and near the coast the whole country, except in Yorubaland, becomes a dense tropical forest. In some places the density of the forest not only obscures the sun, but so excludes the air that, while the tops of the trees may rustle in the breeze, the traveler beneath has to gasp for breath.[3] The tropical vegetation, however, is not so marked west of the Gold Coast.

Mangroves fringe all of the rivers as far as the limits of tide water. Beyond this point the banks of the rivers become clear of vegetation and the traveler can begin to see from his boat the general contour of the country.

Rainfall.—The mouth of the Senegal marks the limit of heavy periodic rains. There the rainy season lasts from June to October.[4] Throughout the Sudan the rainy season begins in the spring and becomes lengthened as one approaches the equator.[5] On the Guinea Coast rain falls from 200 to 250 days in the year.[6] The heaviest rainfall is in Sierra Leone where sometimes the water fall is eight inches in twenty-four hours, and the total per year is 134 inches.[7] In the midst of storms the lightning often plays havoc with men and beasts.[8] The explorer Allen saw a man and woman at Freetown standing in the door of their hut praying and singing and beating drums to ward off the terrible electric

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 274. [2] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 135.
[3] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 240. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[5] Reclus says that the Gambia Coast is very wet from July to September, Vol. 3, p. 174. Hawkins that in the Ibo country the rainy season is from June to September, p. 134; Denham says that in Bornu there is much rain from March to June, p. 240; Rohlfs says that the rainy time in the interior is from June to September, Vol. 2, p. 88.
[6] Staudinger, p. 496. [7] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 202.
[8] "Denham's Narrative", p. 240.

fire when a flash struck them a fatal blow and burnt up their dwelling.[1] On account of the heavy rains and high water many cities and towns, both near the coast and in the interior, are partly submerged, or surrounded by swamps during a part of the year. For example, there are marshes and stagnant pools on the north side of Sokoto.[2] Allen and Thomson saw many villages along the Niger inundated and deserted.[3] The city of Egga is surrounded by a swamp in the rainy season,[4] and at Kano, the capital of Hausa, different parts of the city are separated by stagnant pools.[5]

Tornadoes.—The change of seasons is ushered in by fierce tornadoes from the north.[6] Sometimes even in the dry season fierce tornadoes sweep the coast from Cape Palmas to the Cameroons. Inky clouds descend from inland which cover the land with appalling darkness. The lightning hisses and spits blue flame, the rain comes with a deafening roar, trees and branches fly through the air and a deluge of rain covers the land.[7] In case of sudden storm the natives often jump into a river until it passes over.[8] In the months of December and January a wind storm known as the harmattan frequently blows from the north. It is the breath of the desert and comes in the form of a dry hot dust, through which the sun appears a dull red.[9] Its effect is less violent towards the south. In Yoruba it lasts only a few hours at intervals of three or four weeks.[10] It is terribly suffocating and sometimes extinguishes fire and kills wild beasts.[11] Du Chaillu once protected himself from its burning effects by crawling into a large grain-jar.

[1] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 82.
[2] Clapperton, "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 86.
[3] Vol. 2, p. 88. [4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 102.
[5] Clapperton, "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 30.
[6] Staudinger, p. 9; Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 134.
[7] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 290. [8] Adanson, p. 99.
[9] Park, p. 125; Hawkins says that the harmattan descends upon Ibo in February, p. 121. [10] Bowen, p. 230. [11] Hawkins, p. 121.

Temperature.—Thanks to the sea breezes the temperature along the coasts is not high. About the Senegal it does not reach above 90° in summer and in winter falls to 68°.[1] Farther east and south, the temperature rises higher but seldom above 97°.[2] In the interior the winters are colder and the summers hotter. In Bornu in June the mercury goes up to 107°, and in December falls to 75°.[3] In a few open and elevated districts the weather in winter is sometimes only a few degrees above freezing. [4]

[1] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 134.
[2] Bowen, p. 228.
[3] "Denham's Narrative," p. 240.
[4] Binger Vol. 1, p. 199.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY (*Continued*)

Unhealthfulness of the Climate.—Except in a few favored localities the climate of the Sudan is fatal to the European. The high temperature and the humid air, unrelieved by change of seasons, are exceedingly enervating, and nowhere near the coast can one refresh himself with a cool draught of water.[1] At the close of the rainy season, the miasmatic exhalations from the stagnant waters, left everywhere by the subsidence of the rivers, poison the atmosphere and render it injurious and often fatal to both man and beast. Three years' residence in Liberia is said to be the limit for the white man,[2] and Sierra Leone has long been known as the "white man's grave." The mortality of the English officers at Sierra Leone is often one-half per annum, and one-third of the entire population sometimes die in a single year.[3] Staudinger says that eight per cent. or ten per cent. of the whites die annually at Lagos.[4] During the era of the slave-trade European and American vessels visiting the coast often lost one-half or more of their crews from fever. In delirium the patients frequently jumped overboard,[5] and cases are known where the entire crews of ships have perished.[6] Of thirty-four soldiers and four carpenters who started with Mungo Park's expedition from the Gambia to the Niger, all died but seven before reaching the latter river[7] and only five were alive at Sansanding.[8] The

[1] Bowen, p. 70.
[2] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 217.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 202.
[4] P. 14.
[5] Duncan, Vol. 2, p. 363.
[6] Spilsbury, p. 14.
[7] Park, p. 202.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 211.

natives themselves languish and die from the effects of the germ-laden air,[1] and even also dogs.[2] White residents of the country are in the habit of returning to Europe every few years to recuperate. However, there are some quite healthy districts especially in the interior among the hills of the Slave Coast.[3] In the course of time the white man will no doubt be able to adapt himself to the African climate as the Negro has done, and even better than the Negro has done, by reason of his superior knowledge of sanitation and more temperate living.

Animal Life.—The animal life of the Sudan comprises the elephant, buffalo, giraffe, hippopotamus, lion, tiger, wolf, ox, sheep, goat, deer, ass, camel, hyena, jackal, panther, wild-cat, lynx, leopard, rhinoceros, wild-boar, hare, squirrel, hog, monkey, antelope, etc. The natives claim that there are two species of crocodile, one which man eats, and one which eats man. The number of wild animals available for food is not very great in the neighborhood of the coast, on account of the swampy nature of the country and the dense forests, and the early introduction of the shot-gun which has depleted the region of such animals as it originally contained. Elephants were formally very abundant along the inland seaboard, and in the sixteenth century more ivory came from the Gambia region than from any other part of Africa.[4] At present the elephants exist in considerable numbers only in the far interior. In the dry season they move towards the rivers especially the Senegal and Benue, and in the wet season migrate more to the uplands. They are no longer familiar objects in the Sudanese landscape. Along the coast tigers sometimes prowl about the villages at night and steal the fish which the natives have left outside their huts.[5] Leopards sometimes spring from overhanging branches of trees and seize men by the throat,[6] and

[1] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 89. [2] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 202. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 260.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 174. [5] Adanson, p. 211. [6] Robinson, p. 91.

lions lurk about the camps of travelers and sometimes attack the men and troops of a caravan.[1] However, the great beasts of prey are mostly in the neighborhood of the desert.[2] The rhinoceros and buffalo are in the upland woods and the panther in all of the gorges.[3] Mungo Park relates that traveling along the tributaries of the Senegal his sleep was disturbed every night by the continual blowing and snorting of the hippopotamus.[4] Sharks are plentiful in the coast rivers and bays, and when a man accidentally falls overboard from a ship, he is quickly seized by a shark which darts away leaving its track stained with its victim's blood. Crocodiles sport in all of the rivers, and occasionally make a meal of some stray child or of an arm or leg of any one who may venture to cross the streams, or bathe in them. Once when Isaaco, a Negro who accompanied Mungo Park in one of his expeditions as an interpreter, was driving some asses across a certain river, he was seized on the left thigh by a crocodile. With remarkable presence of mind he felt under the water and thrust his fingers so sharply into the crocodile's eyes that it immediately withdrew from him. But in a moment it returned and seized him on the right thigh. Again Isaaco thrust his fingers into its eyes and with such violence this time as to cause the beast not only to relinquish its grasp but to go away, not, however, without leaving its victim badly lascerated.[5] Camels are found in the desert and horses and asses in the grassy plains of its border. It may be well to mention here that camels, horses, sheep, goats and hogs did not exist in Africa originally but were introduced from the East.[6]

Birds exist in great variety, including the stork, cardinal, parrokeet, eagle, vulture, pigeon, partridge, duck, goose, etc. Vultures are superabundant. They are fond of perch-

[1] Park, p. 188. [2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 274.
[3] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 327. [4] Vol. p. 188.
[5] Park, p. 192. [6] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 151, 243.

ing upon the roofs of houses, and at times act in a rollicking manner, says Miss Kingsley, as if drunk the previous evening.[1] Sometimes they pounce amidst the natives and snatch meat from their fingers[2] or steal something from a basket carried on a native's head.[3]

Snakes are plentiful in number and immense in size. The boa, a hundred feet long, is sometimes seen with half of its body encircling a tree and the other half folded around a lion, leopard, bear or human being.[4] Schweinfurth who traveled in East Sudan complained that his rest was often disturbed by the rustling of snakes in the straw-roofs of the huts,[5] and Richard Lander who traveled in West Sudan awoke one morning to find that his bed-fellow was a scorpion that he had rolled upon in his sleep and killed.[6]

Insects.—Along the lowlands and almost everywhere, insects such as flies, gnats and mosquitoes swarm in great numbers. Miss Kingsley remarks that the atmosphere of West Africa consists of ninety per cent. solid matter in the nature of mosquitoes. The natives in some places keep off the insects by a thick smoke, produced by fires constantly lighted, composed of cattle dung, leaves and rotten wood, kept in a state of moisture ;[7] in other places they protect themselves by sleeping upon elevated platforms with a smoking fire beneath.[8] Bees are numerous and often vicious. One day when navigating the Senegal, Adanson was so fiercely attacked by them that he was forced to abandon his vessel.[9] In another locality they once attacked Mungo Park's caravan and completely put it to rout. Several of his pack-animals were stung to death and many of his men were thoroughly punctuated about their faces and hands.[10] Barth's caravan also once suffered defeat in a contest with

[1] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 19.
[2] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 117.
[3] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 214.
[4] Spilsbury, p. 20.
[5] Vol. 1, p. 158.
[6] Vol. 1, p. 88.
[7] Hawkins, p. 56.
[8] Adanson, p. 251.
[9] P. 149.
[10] P. 178.

these little pests.[1] Locusts descend in clouds from no one knows where and leave nothing but fragments of the growing crops. Butterflies of the most variegated and fantastic patterns flit here and there, some with wings of shining green edged and sprinkled with gold and some with wings, like the garters of Dame Martin, "sky-blue and fringed with silver." At night illuminating flies, like shining stars, relieve the blackness of forest and swamp.[2] Ants almost take the country. Along the coast and in the interior, the traveler sees thousands of pyramidal ant-hills fifteen to twenty feet high, which have become as hard as stone, and stand out against the horizon like miniature Gothic cathedrals. At the commencement of the winter season, the dwellers of these cathedrals are transformed into creatures with wings, when they come out of their edifices from all sides and take up their abode in the huts of the Negroes.[3] In the interior are some species of traveling ants which have pincers that fasten themselves in the flesh like fish-hooks, and which bite so desperately that the native finds it difficult to keep pace in scratching. In migrating they march in regular file, two inches wide, and sometimes several miles long. Some of the largest of their number march on the flanks of the column and act as lieutenants to maintain discipline. When the army gets hungry it deploys *en masse* into a forest or field, attacking and devouring everything in its path with a furious desperation. In quick time a mouse, dog, or gazelle is invaded, killed and devoured, leaving nothing but the bare carcass. Several times when adventurer Du Chaillu was attacked by these ants he was obliged to precipitate himself outside of his hut.[4] Indeed, insects of every kind are so annoying that sometimes the king of a great nation, even in the midst of a levee or discussion of matters of state, is obliged to give himself resounding slaps

[1] Vol. 2, p. 407.
[2] Adanson, p. 166.
[3] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 199.
[4] Bouche p. 50.

upon his chest, legs and shoulders.[1] Large beetles, says Miss Kingsley, come a long distance to see you and end the journey by striking you in the face. Instead of using fly-brushes, nets and screens, the natives in some localities have trained and domesticated lizards which live in the houses and make war upon the ants, gnats and other species that torment.[2] Missionary Freeman while in Ashanti found it necessary to comb the ants from his hair,[3] and after the cockroaches had combined to drive him out of his hut, the rats ate up the strings of his hammock.

The whole Sudan is full of animal excitement. There is never a dull hour for man or beast. All is conflict, noise and motion. Even at night there is no repose or solitude. The hippopotamus and crocodile grunt and splash in the water, the elephant crashes through the branches on his way to the streams, the lion growls over his midnight luncheon, the tiger makes the circumambience hideous with his broken panting aspiration, the jackal howls and the woods ring with the sound of night-birds and insects.[4]

[1] Bouche, p. 49. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 47. [3] P. 161. [4] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 96.

CHAPTER III

THE RACES OF THE SUDAN

The Different Types.—The races of the Sudan comprise three distinguishable types. The first and most primitive type possesses the classic features of the Negro, that is, very dark skin, long narrow head, woolly hair, flat nose, thick lips, receding forehead and prognathus chin. This type, designated as Nigritian, varies more or less according to locality and degree of mixture with other populations.[1] The second type, scattered among the Nigritians as rulers and dominators, is a mixture of the Nigritian with the Berber, and perhaps to some extent with the Arab, and is variously designated as Fellatah, Fulbe, Fellani, etc., and has its theatre of action to the west of Lake Chad. The third type is the Arab, distributed mostly east of Lake Chad, but scattered also here and there in the west, and occupying a position among the eastern Nigritians similar to that of the Fellatah in the west and centre.

As compared to other parts of the world, the races of Africa are very dissimilar. The reason for this is that the Africans in many localities occupy secluded positions which favor deviations from the general type. The northern half of the earth, by reason of its large land masses, is continental and affords easy intercommunication and blending of races, while the southern half, by reason of its smaller land masses, is insular and peninsular and therefore favors a great diversity of types.[2] In Africa distance and climatic differences also have a tendency to isolate people,[3] and bring about and preserve their physical peculiarities.

[1] Deniker, p. 443.

[2] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, pp. 365, 369.

[3] *Ibid* p. 381.

The whole population of the Sudan is estimated at 80,000,000 and comprises so many different tribes and kingdoms that it would be impossible to discuss all of them within the limits of this volume. It is necessary, therefore, to select for treatment a few representative groups.

The Fellatahs.—The most important people in Western and Central Sudan are the Fellatahs who predominate decidedly in the great area of grass, and are found scattered also among the agricultural districts farther south. Although usually classed with the Negro races, they have such a strong mixture of Caucasian blood in them that they are rather a mulatto race than a natural variation of the Negro type. Staudinger says that they differ so much from the blacks that they scarcely deserve to be classed with them.[1] The Fellatahs are probably a branch of the Berbers, and therefore belong to the great Hamitic division of the Human family, which is commonly supposed to have existed in Africa many centuries before the entrance of the Semitic race.

The Fellatahs vary in color from a light brown or almost white, to a dark brown approximating the complexion of the Negro. In physiognomy and features many of them have a strong Semitic cast,[2] while others resemble the pure Negro, except that their hair is not always frizzy but long and bushy like that of the mulatto.[3] In many instances their hair has a sandy tint.[4] They are upon the average of medium stature, slender and well formed, having moderately good features, and in the case of women, often very beautiful faces.[5] They have a graceful and independent carriage. Their foreheads are high and well formed,[6] and their jaws scarcely prognathus.[7] They have large round eyes, oval face, prominent nose, sometimes aquiline, and tolerably full

[1] P. 541. [2] Lorin, p. 298; Binger, Vol. 1, p. 382.
[3] Bowen, p. 200; Staudinger, p. 543. [4] Bowen, p. 277.
[5] Staudinger, p. 543. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 543. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 542.

but in some cases thin lips, fine pearly teeth and delicate, graceful limbs and small hands and feet.[1] Their eyes are usually black but not infrequently bluish.[2] Canot says "I do not think the forms of these Fellatah girls, with their complexions of freshest bronze, are excelled in symmetry by the women of any other country." None of them, he says, has the hanging breast, flat nose and thick lips of the Negro.[3]

Jolofs, Mandingos, Krumen, etc.—Among the Nigritians proper may be mentioned first the Jolofs of the lower Senegal River. They are tall and robust, but have undeveloped lower extremities. Their legs are slim in the calves, their feet flat, and their big toes at a deviating angle from the smaller ones. They have the face and features of the average Negro, except that occasionally individuals have straight noses and thin lips.[4] Their congeners are the Leybus and Serers of the Lower Gambia.[5]

Next in order are the Mandingos with their numerous branches of Malinkops, Soninkes, Bambaras, etc., of the Upper Niger and Upper Senegal Rivers, and extending along the coast from St. Louis to Monrovia.[6] The Mandingos are tall and slender and have the general Negro physiognomy and features, being especially characterized by prominent cheek bones, short chin, large flat nose, woolly hair and somewhat lighter skin than the Jolofs. Their countenance is rather hard and severe.[7] The Bambaras are somewhat mixed with the Berbers. Some of them have aquiline noses, and oblique eyes like the Chinese.[8]

Coming eastward along the coast are next the Krumen,

[1] Staudinger, p. 543; Featherman, p. 362.
[2] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 392; Bowen, p. 277.
[3] P. 178.
[4] Featherman, p. 348; Du Chaillu, p. 188; Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 141.
[5] Deniker, p. 450.
[6] Keane, "Man: Past and Present," p. 45; Deniker, p. 448.
[7] "Une Mission au Senegal," p. 84; Featherman, p. 294.
[8] Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 34.

including their kinsmen the Bassas of Liberia and Grebos east of Cape Palmas.[1] The Krumen are the strongest people physically on the seaboard. They are tall, stout, broad-chested, bull-necked, and have a complexion varying from black to yellow. Their countenance is open and frank and their bearing self-possessed.[2] According to traditions they came from the interior.[3]

Ashantis, Dahomans, Yorubas, etc.—Still farther eastward are the Tshi speaking peoples of the kingdoms of Ashanti and Fanti of the Gold Coast,[4] who are tall, well-proportioned and have less negroid features and lighter complexions than the Mandingos or Jolofs.[5] Ellis says they are "a far handsomer people than any other Negro race with which I am acquainted."[6] They are perhaps mixed with the Arab and Berber blood as a result of incursions of the people from the north.[7] The Fantis are more negroid than the Ashantis.[8]

Then the Ewe speaking peoples of the kingdom of Dahomi, and the Mahi people to the north of Dahomi.[9] They are generally tall, well-proportioned and have fairer complexions and more regular features than the average Negro. The ruling classes comprise some remarkably fine men of a Moorish cast, though darker than the commonality.[10] It is not uncommon to find individuals among this group of people with a reddish tint of hair.[11]

Then the Yoruba speaking peoples of the Slave Coast, including the inhabitants of the Egba kingdom and of the

[1] Deniker, pp. 450, 451.

[2] Featherman, p. 283; Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 124; Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 220.

[3] Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 51.

[4] Deniker, p. 451.

[5] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 241; Featherman, p. 282.

[6] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 236.

[7] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 241.

[8] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 2, p. 183; Spilsbury, p. 155.

[9] Deniker, p. 452.

[10] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 239; Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 260; Foa, p. 100.

[11] Foa, p. 101; Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 260.

Benin kingdom, and numerous related populations, such as the Calabars east of the Niger; the Idzo of the Delta, divided into the Brass and other peoples; the Igbera, between the lower and middle Niger and on the Benue River, and their neighbors the Igara on the left bank of the Niger and lower Benue; the Ibo of the Delta; the Ilorin in the interior west of the Niger; and finally the Efik on the coast extending to the Rio del Rey River which is the dividing line on the west coast between the Nigritians of the Sudan and the Bantus of middle and southern Africa.[1] The Yorubas present the ordinary Negro type except that they, like the Ashantis and Dahomans, have less pronounced features and somewhat lighter colored skin than the average of the black race. Their figures are comparatively graceful and symmetrical.[2] The Ibos have a yellow or brownish black complexion, sometimes almost white. It has been presumed that at some time they have undergone a slight Berber or Fellatah impregnation.[3] The other divisions of this group have a strong Yoruba likeness.

Songhay, Kanuris, Hausas and Nile Populations.—Between the Niger and the basin of the Upper Volta are first the Songhays who occupy the bend of the Niger below Timbuctu. They are mixed with the Fellatah and Tuareg branches of the Berber race, and have a deep brown or blackish color and long ringlety hair.[4] Other groups are the Tomboes on the right bank of the Niger; the Mossis, about the headwaters of the Volta; the Gurmas, east of the Mossis; the Gurungas, in the upper basin of the Red Volta; and further south the Dogombas, and the Conjas, and the Borgus east of the Conjas and near the Niger.[5] All of these peoples are mixed more or less with the Fellatahs, Songhays,

[1] Keane, "Man: Past and Present," p. 55; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 139.

[2] Campbell, p. 65; Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 262; Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 89.

[3] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 240; Bowen, p. 94.

[4] Keane, "Man: Past and Present," p. 61.

[5] Deniker, p. 447.

or Hausas.[1] East of the Niger are the Baghirmis who dwell along the Shari River south of Lake Chad; the Kanuris of Bornu and of the northern part of Adamawa; the Hausas between the Benue River, the Bornu kingdom and the middle course of the Niger, extending into Bornu and Adamawa on the east and into the Mossi country on the west; and lastly the Mosgus between Lake Chad and Adamawa.[2] The people of this latter group are much mixed. The Kanuris embrace a large and distinct population of Arabs, a considerable admixture of Fellatahs and a substratum of typical Negroes with "devilish black" skins,[3] projecting cheek bones, flat noses and thick lips.[4] The Hausas are made up of Arabs and Fellatahs, intermixed with a preponderating Negro substratum,[5] and upon the whole having a decidedly darker complexion than the Negroes of the coast.[6]

Passing eastward over a number of unimportant tribes we come to the Mabas of Waday,[7] the Darfurians, Kordofans and then the inhabitants of the Nile and its tributaries. Among these latter are the Nubas, Bagarras, Nuers, Shillooks, Baris, Bongos, Dinkas, Mittus, Madis, Shulis, Luris, etc.[8] These people are generally well made, but are rather tall and slender. They have somewhat regular features with complexions varying from dark brown to perfect black,[9] except in the case of the Bongos who are light in color[10] and have the steatopygy peculiar to the Negritos,[11] and according to Quatrefages belong to the Negrito aborigines.

Finally must be mentioned the Tibbus of the Sahara, the most northerly of the Negro populations, who, though living outside of the Sudan proper, are a distinct Negro race. They have the ordinary Negro features, except that

[1] Keane, "Man: Past and Present," p. 59. [2] Keane, "Ethnology," p. 277.
[3] Denham, p. 229. [4] Featherman, p. 270.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 390. [6] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 2, p. 106; Deniker, 446.
[7] Keane, "Man: Past and Present," p. 71. [8] Deniker, p. 445.
[9] Featherman, pp. 28, 62. [10] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 261.
[11] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 317.

their hair is longer and less woolly, their noses more frequently acquiline, and their skins more often of light color.[1] They are linguistically related to the Kanuris, and Rohlfs thinks they are the same people as the Garamantes mentioned by Herodotus.

Origin of the Different Types.—As to the proportions of the human organism, it seems that the people of the millet and lower cattle zones, with their relatively long prognathus heads, long and slender arms and legs, narrow pelvis and wall-sided straightness of waist, represent the lowest types. The chief explanation of these peculiar proportions is that of the Negro's nearness of kinship to his simian ancestors. As the races of men rise in culture their change of habits and activities brings about a change in their physiognomy. Increase of brain activity enlarges the frontal region of the brain and gives the skull a less receding form.[2] Giddings thinks that the improvement which evolution has produced in the proportions of the human body and the change from the prognathus to the more pleasing orthognathus form of the face have been due to the prolongation of the period of infancy.[3] The older children become before commencing to use their arms and legs, and the later they begin to chew foods requiring strength of jaw, the less the limbs and jaws will develop in proportion to the other parts of the body. The deficiency in the form of the arms and legs is attributed by Spencer to the limited amount and variety of their activities.[4] The stature of the Negro is related to his general vitality and power of resisting the force of gravity and the physiological cost of living.[5] His narrow pelvis is possibly connected with the smallness of the heads of infants at birth.[6] The straight waist and often protruding stomach are supposed to be the result of eating coarse, bulky and innutritious

[1] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, pp. 254, 255.
[2] Haeckel, Vol. 2, pp. 226, 227.
[3] "Principles of Sociology," p. 229.
[4] Spencer, Vol. 1, pp. 49, 52.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 45.
[6] Deniker, p. 85.

food.[1] The long flat foot of the Negro has been explained by the fact that he goes barefooted and carries heavy loads on his head,—the pressure from above causing the entire under surface of the foot to rest evenly upon the ground. Schweinfurth has attempted to show in a very picturesque fashion, how the physical type of the Nile Negroes is modified by their peculiar environment and habits. He says that as they live in a swampy land, they tend to resemble somewhat the flamingoes of the same country. They have flat and projecting heels, and like the birds of the swamp "they are accustomed for an hour at a time to stand motionless on one leg, supporting the other above the knee. (In humid localities the feet of the horse also become flattened.[2]) Their leisurely long stride over the rushes, is only to be compared to that of a stork. Lean and lank limbs, a long thin neck, on which rests a small narrow head, give a finishing touch to the resemblance."[3] Demolins advances the idea that there is a close connection between the physical beauty of a people and the kind of work which they do. For instance, he attributes the beauty and harmonious proportions of the ancient Greeks to the fact that the Pelasgians, who constituted the fundamental Greek element, lived an easy life in the Mingrelian valley where the chief labor was that of gathering the fruits of nature. He also attributes the beauty of the people of the island of Tahiti to the same fact, to wit, that they live mostly upon the natural fruits of their country.[4] Applying these considerations to Africa we should expect to find the most agreeable types of men in the banana zone where the people have no deforming occupations, but live upon the spontaneous products of nature. Contrary to this, however, we find there the ugliest types; and we must conclude, therefore, that in this zone the hereditary influences

[1] Spencer, Vol. 1, p. 51. [2] Demolins, p. 13. [3] Vol. 1, p. 120.
[4] Comment la route crée le type social: Paris, "Firman-Didot et Cie," pp. 301, 302.

overcome the favorable influences of the economic life. All that can be said of Demolins' argument is that the character of the labor of a people is one of several important factors that determine their physical grace and proportions. The excellence of the Fellatah physique is probably due largely to their pastoral life, which next to living upon the spontaneous products of nature, is the easiest existence and the freest from deforming kinds of labor.

As to the face features, it seems probable that the large and open nostrils of the Negro have some connection with the relative lack of oxygen in the equatorial air and the effort of nature to enlarge the draught. According to Atkins the flatness of the Negro's nose is due to the continual pressure of the infant's face against its mother's back while being carried in a sling during the nursing period.[1] The dark hair and dark eyes of the Negro are due to the same cause as the darkness of his skin. The pigmentation of the skin that covers the head and other parts of the body is of the same substance as that of the retina, and the action of the sun upon the skin has a tendency to color the pigment uniformly all over the body, so that among the lower races of men the color of the skin, hair and eyes is uniform. Among the higher races of men, on account of the operation of the law of progress from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous—from the simple to the complex, the skin, hair and eyes often exhibit colors in contrast. Taking a general view of the Sudan populations, it seems that the darker colored Nigritians live in the millet zone and the lighter types in the banana zone.[2] The difference in color is due to the influences of climate. Near the coast the dense forest and greater number of cloudy days, protect the complexion from the sun and give it a lighter tint, while the open country of the north and the predominance of clear days, cause the pigmentation of the skin to thicken and darken,

[1] P. 180.

[2] Ogilby, pp. 347, 373.

thus giving the complexion a deeper and more glossy black. Even Nigritians who go from the coast to the interior only for a few months take on a darker hue.[1] The lighter color of the Arabs and Fellatahs of the interior is due to acquired characteristics which they brought with them from their native countries. The Nigritians that have the most negroid features seem to be in the millet zone and about Lake Chad,[2] and it is therefore reasonably to be inferred that the most aboriginal Nigritian type survives in this interior middle region, where it has for the longest time remained free from contact with the higher types of invading peoples from the north and southeast.

The expression of the human face is influenced partly by the aspects of nature, and partly by the degree of external social conflict and of internal play of passions, such as love, benevolence or avarice, sensuality, anger, fear and hatred. A country which has a rich natural vegetation tends to stimulate in the inhabitants a certain vivacity of temper, which, if not counteracted by bad political or other conditions, shows itself in the countenance. The reason for this, as pointed out by Schopenhauer,[3] is that whatever in nature tends to overcome the law of gravity, or inertia, is suggestive of life; whereas, whatever seems overcome by gravity, *i. e.*, whatever is stationary or bare is suggestive of death. "The inorganic world so far as it does not consist of mere water, produces a very sad, nay, an oppressive effect upon the feelings, whenever it is presented to us quite by itself. Examples of what I mean are afforded by districts which offer to the eye nothing but a mass of bare crags; that long valley of rocks, for instance, without a trace of vegetation near Toulon, on the way to Marseilles. The same effect is produced on a large scale, and in a much more striking degree, by the African desert." These con-

[1] Staudinger, pp. 496, 542. [2] Heinrich Barth, Vol. 2, pp. 163, 164.
[3] "Essays," New York, Saunders' translation, p. 285.

siderations may help us to understand the rather vivacious temper of the people of the banana zone and the rather sombre temper of the people of the camel zone. But the countenance of the people of the banana zone is, notwithstanding its expression of vivacity, more repulsive than that of any other people in Africa, which is perhaps best accounted for by the general stupidity and social strife in that region, the sacrifices, cannibalism and ascendency of bad passions.

The intellectual development of a people has much to do with their countenance and general appearance. "In regard to the study of physiognomy," says Schopenhauer, "intellectual capacity is much easier of discernment than moral character. The former naturally takes a much more outward direction, and expresses itself not only in the face and the play of features, but also in the gait, down even to the very slightest movement. One could perhaps discriminate from behind between a blockhead, a fool and a man of genius. The blockhead would be discerned by the torpidity and sluggishness of his movements: folly sets its mark upon every gesture, and so does intellect and a studious nature. Hence that remark of La Bruyère that there is nothing so slight, so simple or imperceptible but that our way of doing it enters in and betrays us: a fool neither comes nor goes, nor sits down nor gets up, nor holds his tongue, nor moves about in the same way as an intelligent man."[1] But if intellectual capacity is more easily discerned in the physiognomy of man, moral character stamps itself there more deeply and more indelibly. Every wrongful or worthless act and every evil or foolish thought write themselves in big letters upon a man's countenance. The first glance at a face usually reveals its real character, especially if the face is seen in repose. "For to get a pure and fundamental conception of a man's physiog-

[1] "Essays," New York, Saunders' translation, p. 256.

nomy," says Schopenhauer, "we must observe him when he is alone and left to himself. Society of any kind and conversation throw a reflection upon him which is not his own, generally to his advantage; he is thereby placed in a state of action and reaction which sets him off. But alone and left to himself, plunged in the depths of his own thoughts and sensations, he is wholly himself, and a penetrating eye for physiognomy can at one glance take a general view of his entire character. . . . The study of physiognomy is one of the chief means of a knowledge of mankind, because the cast of a man's face is the only sphere in which his arts of dissimulation are of no avail. . . ."[1]

The question of the general physiognomy of a race or nation of people, instead of being slighted as worthy only of the attention of the curious, should command the attention of the most profound students. If the character of a people is expressed in their art, so is it also expressed in their faces. Any one who has seen the countenances of the men and women on Clark Street, Chicago, or Whitechapel Street, London, or "Boulevard des Italiens" of Paris, must have felt a shock which awakened in him some apprehensions for the future of the human race. A good face is better than a thousand sermons, poems, anthems, paintings, sculptures or philosophic discussions, for it is all of these combined in their most powerful essence.

A thorough study of the conditions and influences that modify the form and features of the human body would yield interesting and valuable results, but the limits of this book permit the subject only to be suggested.

[1] "Essays," New York, Saunders' translation, p. 255.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE BANANA ZONE

General Character of the Zone.—The Sudan naturally divides itself according to the nature of its vegetable and animal products into three zones. Proceeding north from the equator the diminishing quantity of rain brings about conditions causing a gradual change in the character and distribution of the flora and fauna. Near the equator, on account of the luxuriance of the vegetation, the cultivation of the soil is possible only to a very limited extent. The rapid development of grass and weeds soon chokes the cultivated plants, if the swamps do not submerge them. In this region, however, the superabundance of the banana and plantain renders artificial cultivation of the soil hardly necessary. In some localities, especially in the Niger Delta, the banana trees are so thick as to prevent the proper development of their fruit.[1] This zone forms a narrow strip along the lower border of the Sudan, its northern boundary commencing on the west somewhere about the Akba or Comoe River, at the western extremity of the Gold Coast[2] extending across the Niger Delta[3] and the southern portion of Adamawa[4] and thence running in a southeastern direction to Lake Albert Nyanza. In Central Africa this zone extends far south into the equatorial regions.

Chief Means of Subsistence.—Throughout the banana zone the fundamental means of subsistence is the same now

[1] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 188.

[2] Freeman, pp. 16, 31; Brackenbury, p. 329; Foa, p. 136; Binger, Vol. 2, p. 231; Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 322; Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 207; Featherman, p. 136.

[3] Lander, Vol. 2, p. 246; Allen and Thompson, Vol. 1, p. 402.

[4] Heinrich Barth, Vol. 2, p. 193.

as it was when the country was first visited by Europeans. The people subsist mostly upon the spontaneous products of nature, particularly the banana and plantain, fish and game. In many places the banana and plantain groves appear to have been laid out and cultivated. Allen and Thomson who explored the Niger in 1847 observed here and there, in addition to the wealth of natural products, a few patches of ground where the natives planted corn, yams and ground-nuts.[1] Agriculture, they said, was almost wholly neglected at the seacoast for which indeed the swampy nature of the land was a sufficient excuse.[2] The palm tree which abounds in this zone and in the lower Niger forms great forests, is, next to the banana, the chief staff of life.[3] It furnishes an oil which is used in lamps, and also as a sauce for every meal.

Little Attention to Hunting.—It might be supposed, since the people do not occupy themselves in cultivating the soil, that they would devote much time to hunting. But they do not, although in former times hunting was no doubt more in favor. In the first place, the big game is not very abundant, and in the second place, the humidity of the climate is unfavorable to an occupation which requires courage, energy and invention.[4]

Domestic Animals.—Domestic animals are very uncommon. Except in elevated districts horses and cattle cannot survive. Goats, though found almost everywhere are not in sufficient number for regular food. They are used mostly for sacrifices to the gods. In some villages may be seen a few sheep, hogs, chickens, ducks and pigeons[5] but animal food is everywhere pretty scarce and the craving for it is such that some people fatten and eat dogs.[6] Among

[1] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 251.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 397; Vol. 2, p. 256.
[3] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 97.
[4] Hovelacque, p. 358.
[5] Staudinger, p. 39.
[6] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 140; Hovelacque, p. 289.

the Ashantis monkey flesh boiled in palm oil is a *bonne bouche*, and snails are also much relished.[1]

Fishing.—Along the coast and rivers the people have always given much attention to fishing. Writing in 1772 Benezit said that the fishermen would go out two leagues at sea, each carrying in his canoe a sword, some bread and water, and fire upon a flat stone to roast the catch.[2] In some localities the fishing was done mostly by slaves who used nets made of the fibre of plantain leaves.[3] Fishing is still carried on as in former times except that in many districts European hooks and nets have been introduced.

The Food Problem Easy.—The reader will perceive that in this favored zone the fruits of nature grow into the people's mouths. Here no one can die of hunger,[4] although, as a result of devastating wars the people sometimes suffer from scarcity of provisions, or they sometimes suffer when traveling as caravan porters through uninhabited districts. If the people cultivate the soil and store up grain, it is rather from the craving for diversified food than from deficiency of spontaneous products, and if they suffer from hunger it is because they are too lazy to reach out the hand for what nature offers.

Happy are the people who have no food problem to solve and no need to lie awake at night fearing lest some failure of crops, some fall in stocks, some disaster at sea or lull in trade, may deprive them of shelter, food and raiment! On the other hand, how miserable the people who have too much foresight, cross bridges before reaching them, live in perpetual dread of what might be, who think of nothing but business, and do nothing but "sprawl over each other like maggots for any rotten eatable thing they can get a bite of" and to whom "the thought of the tomb is the skeleton at every feast"! The greater part of the capital and energy

[1] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 240.
[2] P. 26.
[3] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 324; Wood, p. 674.
[4] Foa, p. 188.

of the civilized world is used in the production and distribution of something to eat, and more than half of each day's production is consumed at breakfast, dinner and supper.[1] If the farmers, manufacturers and transporters would cease operations for a few weeks, all civilized people would die of starvation. The question of food is at the bottom of almost every war, state constitution, diplomatic trick or piece of legislation. It has been the chief theme of all the world's greatest orators and statesmen whose thundering eloquence has ever been heard in behalf of cornbread, hogsheads of molasses, salt-sacks and pork-barrels. Even poets, novelists and painters have immortalized sowers and reapers, tavern-keepers, millers and cooks. Lytton tells us

> "We may live without poetry, music and art,
> We may live without conscience and live without heart,
> We may live without friends and we may live without books,
> But civilized man cannot live without cooks."

However, to the natives of the banana zone cooks are not essential. The food of the people is predominately vegetable and hence there is not much opportunity for cooks to distinguish themselves.

But Scarcity of Meat Leads to Cannibalism.—It is a striking fact to note in this connection that wherever among the natural races, the chief diet is vegetable, the people seem to have such a craving for meat that they take to eating each other.[2] Throughout the banana zone cannibalism was once universal[3] and is still practiced in many districts, especially east of the Niger where some tribes do not hesitate to eat any one they can waylay and steal.[4] The traveler in the Niger Delta and eastward beyond, sees human skeletons as relics of Thyestean feasts hung up in the huts or suspended

[1] Gide, "Political Economy," Boston, 1892, p.37.
[2] Preville, p. 223. [3] Keane, "Man: Past and Present," p. 78.
[4] Ogilby, p. 482; Staudinger, p. 31; Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 165.

from trees. An article in the *Missionary Review of the World* as late as 1897 says, "Young boys are brought from the dark interior, kept in pens, fattened upon bananas and finally killed and eaten." [1] According to Staudinger cannibalism still exists in the Niger Delta.[2] This practice, by the way, does not support the argument of the advocates of vegetarianism, that vegetable diet makes man humane, and meat diet makes him brutal. The vegetarian Negroes of Africa are the most brutal people in the world, while the Eskimos who eat only meat are the most gentle. Who has ever so much as heard of an Eskimo military chief?

To live in this zone requires a minimum of effort, few tools or implements and no capital. It calls for no laborious digging of the soil, no patient waiting for the harvest and no large storehouse to keep off famine.

Industrial Arts.—Manufactured articles vary much according to locality, and compared to the millet zone, are limited in number and variety. In general the list includes rough basket work, coarse pottery, mats and cloth made of grass and dyed in rich shades of red, yellow and blue: cotton cloth similarly dyed, water-jugs of woven reeds, spoons of wood and ivory, knives, etc. The Ashantis know how to make "cotton fabrics, turn and glaze earthenware, forge iron, fabricate instruments and arms, embroider rugs and carpets, and set gold and precious stones." [3] During the activities of the slave trade there was a noticeable decline in native manufactures throughout Africa, especially along the coast regions.[4] The natives gave up to a large extent their primitive industries and depended upon the sale of slaves as a means of supplying what they wanted in the line of manufactured goods. Park observed in his travels that the coast people as a rule did not manufacture iron but depended upon Europeans or traders from the interior for their hard-

[1] Vol. 10, N. S., p. 456. [2] P. 31. [3] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 241.
[4] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 290; Vol. 2, pp. 510–517.

ware.[1] However, the interior people perhaps have always been ahead of the coast people in the art of manufacturing.

Trade.—In nature's dealings with man she is nowhere so niggardly as not to offer some means of subsistence, and nowhere so generous as not to withhold something that man craves, so as to tempt him to supply the deficiency by exploring unknown countries or by trading with his neighbors. Man first attempts to obtain the goods of his neighbor by theft and general exploitation, but the injurious reactions from such methods lead him to offer something in exchange for what he desires from another. The beginning of trade is therefore a great step forward in the evolution of a race. It is a substitute for theft, pillage, murder and other means of acquiring by force what another has produced. Trade tempts man to produce beyond the demands of home consumption, while contact with foreign people ever whets the appetite for new wants. In the banana zone trade has never been very brisk although according to the earliest accounts it was carried on everywhere to a certain extent. From the beginning one of the chief articles of trade was gold which the natives culled from the streams and preserved in quills [2] or melted into bars.[3] The women were the chief gold washers. They scraped the oriferous ore from the streams, placed it in calabashes filled with water, and by a rotary motion of the hand, caused the water and sand to fly over the rims of the vessels.[4] Other important articles of trade were ivory and palm oil. These articles together with the fish from the rivers and bays, and the products of the soil such as bananas, plantains and yams were exchanged with the interior people for goats, sheep, poultry and grain.[5] The king of the Brass people used to have eighteen canoes, each carrying forty men, which he employed in traffic up

[1] P. 130. [2] Wood, p. 623. [3] Hawkins, p. 103. [4] Wood, p. 623.
[5] Lander, Vol. 2, pp. 233, 256; Benezet, p. 26; Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 401.

and down the Niger.[1] While the slave trade was being carried on by Europeans, the list of articles of exchange was enlarged by the addition of rum, muskets, gun-powder and a great variety of European fabrics and trinkets, which were exchanged for slaves, gold, ivory, and palm oil.

At present the trade is carried on as in former times except that the sale of slaves for export has stopped altogether.[2] Since 1878 many of the old gold diggings on the Gold Coast have been reopened and several productive mines are now being worked by English and French companies.[3]

In recent years the chief exports to Europe have been cocoa, ivory, palm kernels, palm oil, rubber and lumber.[4]

So far as water facilities are concerned, no country is more favorably situated for trade than this banana zone, and no country has a richer supply of natural products, yet the people have shown very little enterprise in gathering the fruits and transporting them to the interior markets.

Markets.—All important towns have regular market days on which the people from the surrounding country assemble to trade and talk. At Porto Novo markets are held every eighth day, at Abomey every other day and at Whydah every day.[5] Sometimes people come to market from a distance of 300 miles.

Money.—The chief medium of exchange consists of cowries, twenty thousand of which are equal to about $10 and weigh about fifty pounds. On the Gold Coast, however, the natives are now beginning to use British coins instead of the cowries.[6]

[1] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 171. [2] Staudinger, pp. 13, 32, 39.

[3] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 315. See advertisements in *West Africa Mail*, October 13, 1905.

[4] The British Empire Year Book, 1903, pp. 1111, 1117–1104. The palm oil in Europe is converted into soap and candles with glycerine as a by-product. *West Africa Mail*, September 29, 1906, p. 635. It is estimated that 50,000 elephants are killed annually in Africa for their ivory. *The African News*, Vol. 1, p. 237.

[5] Foa, p. 144. [6] *West Africa Mail*, October 6, 1905, p. 661.

Transportation.—The early writers report that the transportation system consisted of porters, mostly women, who carried goods to and from the markets. Not infrequently a woman supported a baby on her back in addition to her load of merchandise.[1] In thick forests the carriers bore their loads in frames on their backs while with a knife in hand they cut their way through the underbrush. Rich people sometimes traveled in hammocks borne by their slaves.[2] Dahoman princes now and then rode on horseback, but the horse was regarded as a rare and strange beast and always two slaves had to walk beside the rider to hold him on.[3] The same methods of transportation exist at the present time with the addition of a few railroads lately constructed by Europeans. One of these roads runs from the Dahoman Coast to the middle course of the Niger and another from Lagos to Rabba on the Niger.[4] Of course, canoe navigation is common on all the bays and rivers, but the boats made and used by the natives are generally of inferior workmanship.

Division of Labor.—On account of the very limited economic development in this zone there has never been much division of labor. In some places blacksmithing, pottery and fishing are carried on by special classes, but as a rule the women do all of the work.[5] And each of them is a sort of Jack-of-all-trades, acting as cook, nurse, field-hand, carpenter, mason, manufacturer and porter. So far as the density of population is concerned, the people of this zone should be able to develop a highly complex and specialized economic system, but they have not the necessary energy. The division of society into classes cannot take place until occupations become specialized. Specialization is always the cause of the development of classes, beginning first in the division into a slave class and a free

[1] Benezet, p. 30. [2] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 119. [3] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 223.
[4] Reinsch, p. 261. [5] Wood, p. 674.

class, then into a capitalist class and a wage class, and then the sub-division of the latter two classes into special corporations and organizations. The formation of classes is a necessary means of developing out of a slave state into a higher political state.[1]

Slavery.—Slavery in this zone, as everywhere else in the Sudan, has existed from time immemorial and owes its origin to native economic and political conditions. As the men do not work it is evident that they do not need helpers or slaves. On the other hand as all of the work falls upon the women, it is evident that if slave labor is used at all it must be to help them. The demand for labor is partly supplied by the addition of several wives to each household. Now, as each man has several wives it would seem that whatever work is necessary for the support of a family could be done by the combined labor of the wives, but not so. The wives have a disposition to shirk their work, especially when they are used as porters to carry goods to and from the markets, and therefore it becomes necessary to seek other laborers. But where is the supply to come from? Land being free and capital a superfluity, every man can make an easy living and need not under any circumstances ask another man to support him. Hence no one will voluntarily work for another, and the only way that laborers can be obtained is by coercion, *i. e.*, by forcing them to work as slaves. Here we find the explanation of slavery. Primarily it arises from the indisposition of people to work for themselves, and secondarily, from their inability to get others to work for them except by force. Nieboer says with truth "We think slavery and serfdom can only be accounted for by a scarcity of labor. When labor is everywhere scarce, a laborer who leaves his employer can everywhere find employment, whereas an employer cannot easily procure labor-

[1] Post, "Ueber die Aufgaben einer Allgemeinen Rechtswissenschaft," pp. 37, 38.

ers: it is then the interest of the employer to prevent his laborers from leaving him."[1] Slaves were obtained by sale of debtors and criminals and by kidnapping and raiding. The manner in which the slave trade has been carried on is discussed in the second volume. So far as the status of the slave is concerned there has been no appreciable change from that indicated by the earliest writers. The number of slaves needed is small, and the yoke that they bear is light. Not only is the labor of slaves light but it is less painful than the labor of the serving class among civilized people. Slaves can hunt, fish, dance and enjoy all of the excitements common to freemen. They work only with irregularity and the demands upon their attention are only intermittent. Often slaves are left to do as they please provided they lodge at home, feed themselves and give to their master a fixed sum per week.[2] This kind of slavery suits their mental and moral status and is a preliminary training for more regular activity. "Their lot," says Ellis, "is not in any way comparable with that of an agricultural laborer in England."[3] They are considered members of the family, they can acquire and inherit property, they can own slaves themselves and not infrequently purchase their freedom by buying other slaves to take their places.[4] Prior to the European intervention, idle, vicious and mutinous slaves were punished by flogging and imprisonment, but no slave-owner could take the life of his slave, and it was seldom that a slave ran away.[5] Writing in 1874, Brackenbury said that on the Gold Coast "as a rule slaves would be unwilling to accept their freedom."[6] Whenever they wished to quit their master they could dedicate themselves to the service of some god and from such refuge the master could not reclaim

[1] P. 357. [2] Foa, p. 211. [3] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 220.
[4] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 219; Bouche, p. 162; Allen and Thomson, Vol. I, p. 251.
[5] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 220. [6] Brackenbury, p. 325.

them.[1] However, only a very small number of slaves could avail themselves of this avenue of escape.

But the lot of the slaves was not quite so fortunate as the above stated facts would make it appear. In the banana zone slaves were ever in danger of becoming war-captives and in many cases this meant that they were to be killed and eaten. On account of the simplicity of the economic life only a small number of the captives was needed for the work of maintaining the population and from this fact very serious consequences ensued. When there were many wars and many captives, but no agriculture or other occupations sufficient to give employment to the captives, what became of them? They were eaten; and Preville believes that it was precisely this lack of profitable utilization of captives that originally led to cannibalism. Thousands of captive-slaves were sacrificed to the gods and superstitious customs and thousands of home-born slaves were immolated upon the graves of their masters. It is evident that the slaves did not contemplate these eventualities with any high degree of satisfaction, since, according to Ellis, when a slave-master was about to die his slaves often ran away to escape immolation.

But notwithstanding the casualties attendant upon the slave life, a consideration of all facts seems to justify the conclusion that the lot of the slaves of this zone was a fortunate and happy one as compared to that of slaves in many more advanced societies. The more intense labor of the slaves among civilized people and the consequent greater restraints and exactions imposed by the master, cause breaches of discipline which furnish provocations to ill-treatment and overwork. The severity of the régime while rendering the slave less free and less happy, brings about a greater mortality than all of the sanguinary customs of the banana zone. For example, throughout Egypt the slave

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 220.

conditions are such that it is impossible for the Negroes to maintain their numbers. It is quite the fashion to attribute this high death-rate to the climate, but in the opinion of the writer, it is due to the régime of confinement and monotony and the absence of stimulating diversions. Waitz was right in his contention that, as a rule, slaves are better treated among savages than among civilized people, for the reason first, that the savage master does not place so much value upon time and labor and hence does not rush his slaves, and second, that savage masters do not draw such tight class distinctions.[1]

Domestic slavery was abolished in Nigeria (which includes most of the territory of the Nigritians in the banana zone) in 1901. It was not made illegal for natives to own slaves but by the abolition of the legal status of slavery, every slave who chooses to do so may assert his freedom. Few slaves have as yet availed themselves of this open door and perhaps it will be all the better if emancipation proceeds slowly.[2] In many districts, out of hearing of the British bugle, slavery will continue for many years to come.

Capital and Transmission of Property.—No capital to speak of is necessary to existence in this zone and the people have little incentive to accumulate anything. Nature, instead of man, provides for posterity, and man therefore develops little foresight. Such property as exists is usually transmitted in accordance with the principles of the matriarchate as pointed out in the chapters on the family life.

[1] Vol. 2, pp. 281–3–4.

[2] Shaw, "Lady Lugard," p. 460.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE MILLET ZONE

Character of the Zone.—North of the banana zone the forest with its tropical aspect begins to give way to scattered clumps of trees interspersed with open prairies. The longer dry season permits the cultivation and ripening of a variety of grains of which the chief is millet.[1] Millet and sorghum, says Ratzel, play the same rôle in Central Africa as wheat in Europe, corn in America, and rice in China.[2] At about 11° North the empire of the banana terminates and that of grain commences.[3] This millet zone forms a broad band stretching across the entire continent. Its northern line begins about with the river Gambia, thence extending easterly in an irregular line, skirting the lower edge of Lake Chad and terminating in the grassy region of East Africa. The southern boundary is coextensive with the northern boundary of the banana zone.

Millet the Chief Means of Subsistence.—The earliest and most recent writers give about the same description of the products of the soil and the methods of cultivating in this zone. On account of the rapid exhaustion of the soil, the people find it necessary to let a part of their land lie fallow each year,[4] and always preparatory to planting the natives set fire to the tall grass.[5] "In the middle of the night," says Mungo Park, "I could see the plains and mountains, as far as the eye could reach, variegated with lines of fire, and the

[1] Heinrich Barth, Vol. 2, p. 558; Binger, Vol. 1, p. 484; Preville, p. 247.
[2] "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 505.
[3] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 125.
[4] Preville, p. 252.
[5] Clapperton, "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 99; Binger, Vol. 1, p. 242; Campbell, p. 99; Staudinger, p. 10.

light reflected on the sky made the heavens appear in a blaze." Birds of prey follow in the wake of the flames, devouring the snakes, lizards and small game which the heat has killed.[1] When the crops are somewhat advanced slaves are stationed about in the fields upon platforms or in trees to scare away the devastating birds by rattling calabashes or shouting at the top of their voices.[2]

Other Food Products: Corn, Rice, Fruit.—In addition to millet this zone produces Indian corn, rice, manioc, groundnuts, indigo, tobacco, yams, sorghum, etc.[3] The oil-palm disappears some distance inland from the coast and is replaced by the butter-tree, the nuts of which produce an aromatic oil of about the consistency of butter. This tree-butter is a staple article in many of the western districts.[4] The fruits in this zone are scarce and hardly worth the gathering.[5] The kola-nut grows plentifully in the southern districts of the west, and is used by the natives almost as extensively as coffee among the white people of Europe and America.[6] It is valued on account of its stimulating and sustaining powers. The nut is ground into a fine powder and carried about the person during long journeys when often the only subsistence consists of a chew of this kola. Thanks to it many travelers are able to stave off thirst and hunger.[7]

Cotton.—Cotton has been extensively cultivated for many years, especially in the basin of the Benue River, but until recent years was used almost altogether for home consumption.[8] The total value of the cotton now exported an-

[1] Park, p. 126. [2] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 266.

[3] Lasnet, et. al, pp. 92, 94; Bowen, p. 41; Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 88; Binger, Vol. 1, pp. 125, 229; Adanson, p. 166.

[4] Bowen, p. 55. According to Binger, the limit of the oil-palm is about 8° North, Vol. 1, p. 138.

[5] Bowen, p. 51. [6] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 309.

[7] *African News*, Vol. 2, 1890, p. 466.

[8] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 217; Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 327.

nually from the Sudan to England is about $500,000.[1] A letter from O. P. Austin, Chief of Bureau United States Department of Commerce and Labor under date November 13, 1906, says: "In compliance with your inquiry under date of November 6, regarding cotton exports from the Sudan, I have to say that the only data which this Bureau has on the subject of cotton in the Sudan are those of acreage and estimated yield.

"According to the official blue book on the Finances, Administration and Condition of Egypt and the Sudan, the acreage in cotton in 1904 was 15,267, while that in 1905 was 23,898. The estimated yield in 1904 is given as 115,678 kantars, or about 11,458,000 pounds, which would be about 22,916 bales of 500 pounds each. No figures of production are given for the year 1905.

"Neither the 1904 nor the 1905 report gives any data regarding shipments. The 1904 report states, in a general way, that "Cotton growing in the Sudan, for export purposes cannot, as yet, be said to have passed out of the experimental stage." In Lagos Colony (interior and west of the Niger) there are over 5,000 acres planted in cotton. Ginning machines are employed and the crop produced is sold on the Liverpool market.[2] In 1905 there was complaint in England of the bad color of the Lago cotton.[3] The cotton of West Africa generally has a short fibre and a large proportion of seed to fibre. The reason for these peculiarities is that the natives do not grow the cotton from seed each year, as is done in America, but treat the plant as a perennial.[4] Better methods, however, are gradually being introduced by the British Association for the encouragement of cotton culture in Africa. The Germans are now attempt-

[1] Geller, "West African Cotton Culture," *Van Norden Magazine*, July, 1906.
[2] Reinsch, p. 291; *African World*, October 4, 1905, p. 491.
[3] *West Africa Mail*, September 29, 1905, p. 637.
[4] *West Africa Mail*, October 27, 1905, p. 731.

ing to develop cotton cultivation in Togo (west of Dahomi) where American cotton experts are employed as teachers and experiment directors. It has already been demonstrated, says Reinsch, "that Togo cotton can be delivered in German markets at a very handsome profit. In 1904 the harvest amounted to 300 tons.[1] The value of the cotton exported from Lagos in 1869 was £76,957: in 1901 the value of it was only £154. The falling off of exports is explained by the fall in the price. When the price was high the natives were willing to sell to the Europeans, but when the price fell they found it more profitable to spin and weave the cotton into cloth.[2] The lesson for the farmers of America to learn from these facts is that so long as they produce a large crop and sell it at a moderate price there is little probability of losing their monopoly in cotton cultivation, but if the output is restricted and the price advanced by artificial manipulation there is the greatest danger that Africa may entirely supplant America as a cotton producing country.

In some of the upland districts of this zone there are large areas where crops will not mature because of deficient rainfall. The streams dry up and for miles around no human habitation can be seen.[3]

Wild and Domestic Animals.—Wild animals are more abundant in this than in the banana zone, and the people are more given to hunting. The Borgus, for example, are great hunters.[4] On the Mandingo plateau there are multitudes of elephants, antelopes and buffaloes.[5] All across the continent as far as the Nile game is plentiful. The domestic animals are oxen, sheep, asses, goats and pigs,[6] the latter, according to Miss Kingsley, being a rich source of practice to the local lawyer.[7] Horses do not prosper[8] and

[1] Reinsch, p. 292. [2] Hazzledine, p. 178. [3] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 84; Vol. 2, p. 194.
[4] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 130; Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 374.
[5] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 218. [6] Bowen, p. 307.
[7] "Travels in West Africa," p. 20. [8] Staudinger, p. 527.

are scarce except along the northern border. The climate is fatal to camels and, as Clapperton facetiously remarks, when they are brought into the region it is necessary to kill them to save their lives.[1] Chickens are found almost everywhere, even in districts so poor that people have to collect termites as food for them.[2]

The Struggle for Existence Harder Than in the Banana Zone.—The problem of life in this zone is a serious one. Man cannot live upon the bounty of nature. He must labor, till the soil, sow, protect the growing crop and store up the product. In the west large urns as tall as a man are used for preserving the grain,[3] and in the east, bins made of wicker.[4] Millet will keep in jars for three years,[5] and a kind of yam flour, made of sliced, dried and pounded yams, will keep for six months.[6] In some places water is scarce and the natives have to dig wells through solid rock. Those who thus obtain water make it a profitable source of income.[7] Also in some localities trees are so scarce that slaves have to be sent long distances to get wood for cooking purposes.[8]

The Improvident Borrow From the Provident.—The foregoing facts show that life in this zone demands a definite amount of energy, foresight and self-control, and that people who are improvident pay the penalty, as elsewhere in the world, by loss of comfort and standing. People who have empty bins go hungry,[9] and many of them become beggars.[10] In their extremity they sometimes rob ant-holes to get the little store of corn that these more industrious workers have laid up.[11] In seasons of famine, the people take to eating

[1] Clapperton, "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 40.
[2] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 268.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 79.
[4] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 34.
[5] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 267.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[7] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 281; Vol. 2, p. 99.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 99.
[9] Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 82.
[10] Staudinger, pp. 565, 566.
[11] Barth, Vol. 2, p. 524.

monkeys, dogs, cats, rats,[1] locusts,[2] lizards, etc. In some places winged ants are collected, fried in cow-butter or tree-butter and fed to children.[3] But the economic man, *rara avis*, comes to the rescue. He lends seed to the improvident upon consideration that they labor for him for a given period,[4] or in case of worse distress, he buys a boy or girl from a father or mother paying therefor a supply of provisions for a certain number of days.[5]

Industrial Arts: Tools and Implements.—Fortunately manufacturing comes in to supplement the rather precarious agricultural resources. The smiths prepare charcoal, smelt iron, make hoes, hatchets, axes, knives, scythes, nails and other hardware.[6] Staudinger thinks that smithwork was probably original with some of the West African peoples.[7] The smiths are not a despised class in this zone as among the people further north.[8] Leather workers dress hides, dyeing them yellow and red, and making them into cloaks, shoes, sandals,[9] shields, tobacco cases, water and oil vessels, etc.[10] In Nupeland the people have learned to melt, form and color glass.[11] In the Bautschi district the people manufacture soap, and in other districts gunpowder.[12] In almost all cities cotton is spun and woven into strips of cloth three inches wide and sixty yards long, dyed in stripes of gray, blue and red.[13] The weaving of cotton was known in the Sudan as early as the eleventh century,[14] but whether introduced by races from the north or developed independently by the Negroes is uncertain.[15] There is extensive

[1] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 143. [2] Adanson, p. 161.
[3] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 199. [4] Preville, p. 256. [5] Park, pp. 118, 138.
[6] Bowen, p. 308. [7] P. 593.
[8] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 156; Staudinger, p. 594; Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 292.
[9] Park, p. 130; Bowen, p. 308. [10] Staudinger, p. 585. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 597.
[12] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 159; Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 97.
[13] "Denham's Narrative," p. 182; Allen and Thomson, Vol. 2, p. 100; Lander, Vol. 1, p. 269.
[14] Heinrich Barth, Vol. 3, p. 365. [15] Staudinger, p. 579.

manufacturing of wooden ware, such as dishes and baskets[1] and also many products of the potter's art.[2] Tools, implements and utensils are divers and sundry, and great quantities of them are exposed for sale at the public markets.

During the flourishing days of slave exportation to America, the industrial arts declined as well as the cultivation of the soil. One of the effects of the contact with European peoples and products was at first to cause the natives to imitate the articles of foreign manufacture, such as glass and gunpowder, and but for the slave trade and other mistaken policies of the white man which disorganized the whole economic life of the natives there is no telling what strides would have been made in all lines of industry.[3] Since the abolition of the external slave trade, the revival of industrial activities among the people of the Sudan has been hindered by the wars between the pastoral Fellatahs and native blacks.[4]

Trade.—The people of this zone have a natural turn for trade. It suits their restless nature, intense curiosity, love of palaver, and it is liked as much for its own sake as for the profit in it.[5] The Negro is never happier than when he is in the midst of the hubbub of the market. The great trade centre of this zone is Kano, the Manchester of the Sudan. Its wares are famous throughout a great portion of Africa. Its cotton and leather goods are sold in all important markets of the Hausa States, and are exported to the Gulf of Guinea and to Timbuctu and districts in and beyond the desert.[6] It supplies sandals for half of the Sudan and Sahara.[7] The market place of this thriving city is crowded with people from far and near. Great caravans come from

[1] Staudinger, p. 586.
[2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 301, 309, 310; Staudinger, p. 588.
[3] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 249.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 250.
[5] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 375.
[6] Lorin, p. 258; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 310–312.
[7] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, 319.

the eastern, western and southern portions of the desert.[1] The Moors bring articles across the desert to Kano and compete with the European goods coming up by way of the coast.[2] Each article for sale on the market has its special booth, and bands of music parade the streets to attract customers.[3] The commodities of Kano, says Barth, are sent "to the north as far as Murzuk, Ghat and even Tripoli: to the west, not only to Timbuctu, but in some degree as far as the shores of the Atlantic, the very inhabitants of Arguin dressing in the cloth woven and dyed in Kano: to the east all over Bornu, although there it comes in contact with the native industry of the country: and to the south it maintains a rivalry with the native industry of Igbera and Igbo, while towards the southeast it invades the whole of Adamawa and is only limited by the nakedness of the pagan *sansculottes* who do not wear clothing."[4] Gold is an important article of commerce,[5] especially in the western districts, where it is found along the streams, washed in calabashes, stored in quills and exchanged for sundry foreign commodities. Much of it is given to the Moors for salt[6] which is scarce in this zone and has to be imported from the desert or from the coast. In recent years the gold of the country has been mostly exploited by French and British companies. The chief exports to Europe at present are gum-arabic, ivory, rubber, kola nuts, groundnuts and ginger.[7]

Markets and Money.—Each large city, as well as Kano, has its regular market places and market days. Some of the traders come in caravans of asses, horses and oxen, and others come afoot carrying goods on their backs and heads.[8]

[1] Clapperton, "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 33.
[2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 312.
[3] Clapperton, "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 40.
[4] Vol. 1, p. 511. [5] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 415.
[6] Park, pp. 141, 142.
[7] British Empire Year Book, 1903, pp. 1087, 1095, 1121.
[8] Bowen, p. 307; Campbell, p. 59.

Women traders come in from the near by villages to purchase supplies for the local markets and they sometimes carry on their heads from sixty to one hundred pounds of merchandise.[1] In certain cities there are regular market inspectors who examine the milk and meat. They see to it that butchers remove all the bones from their meat before offering it for sale.[2] The money of exchange consists chiefly of cowries of which about 4,500 equal in value one American dollar or one French five franc piece.[3] In the east iron bars are used as the money with which the men often purchase their wives.[4] Pieces of iron were once used as money also in the west.[5]

Transportation.—As means of transportation the people have asses, horses and oxen [6] but the commonalty still to a great extent carry loads on their backs and heads. Even fine ladies sometimes hire themselves as porters assisted by their slaves.[7] Considering the general navigability of the rivers, canoe transportation is very little developed except on the Niger and the Nile. Railroads, in late years, have begun to penetrate this zone. The Sudanese railway connects Kayes at the heed of the Senegal navigation with Kulikora on the Niger. The commercial route from Timbuctu to the sea thus lies up the Niger to Kulikora, thence by rail to Kayes, thence down the Senegal River to St. Louis, thence by the coast railway to Dakar. A railroad from Lagos and another from the Dahoman coast are also heading for the interior.[8]

Division of Labor.—Division of labor is much more marked here than in the banana zone. Besides the division into freemen and slaves, there are specialized potters, smiths,

[1] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 177; Park, p. 208.
[2] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 160.
[3] Staudinger, p. 618.
[4] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 279.
[5] Park, p. 33; Ogilby, p. 356.
[6] Staudinger, p. 614.
[7] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 179.
[8] Reinsch, p. 261.

tanners, weavers, tailors, dyers and musicians. There are also architects who build houses,[1] barbers who combine dentistry with the tonsorial art and extract teeth with a pair of iron tongs[2] and manicurists who with a wicked pair of scissors trim finger and toe nails at the rate of four cowries per individual.[3] Territorial division of labor, as defined by Ely,[4] *i. e.*, where different sections of a country are devoted to special kinds of production, is well developed in this zone, as the facts already stated in reference to trade indicate.

Slavery.—Slave labor is much in demand owing to the extensive cultivation of the soil, manufacturing and trade, and up to a few years ago the supply was kept up partly by war-captives and partly by the purchase of freemen who sold themselves or were sold by their parents. Instead of killing and eating war-captives or offering them as sacrifices, as was done in the banana zone, they were here, as is generally the case when man advances to the agricultural stage, employed as field laborers. "There have been many discussions," says Ely, "as to whether slavery is right or wrong. It is both. There is a time in human development when slavery represents a step in human progress, the best and longest that men are able then to take. Such a step is always right. It is wrong when men have learned how to do better."[5] In the millet zone of Africa there have been obvious advantages in slavery both to the slave and to the master. The slave found in the master a means of saving himself from the penalties of his lack of thrift and foresight, and the master found in the slave a labor supply which without coercion could not have been obtained. Owing to the fact that land was plentiful and free, an insufficient number of people would voluntarily work for others, and the supply could be kept up only by raiding and enslaving.

[1] Staudinger, p. 599. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 605. [3] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 371.
[4] "Political Economy," New York, 1901, p. 158.
[5] "Outlines of Economics," New York, 1893, p. 10.

The coercive union of slave and master, enabled the country's resources to be developed, caused the production of many commodities which would never have been voluntarily produced, and trained both slave and master to some regular habits of industry. Before the British intervention decreeing the illegality of slavery the proportion of slaves to freemen in this zone varied in the different localities from one-half to four-fifths, many private individuals having owned more than a thousand.[1] Slaves in the family were generally considered as members of it and were seldom sold so long as they were industrious and obedient. They were permitted to marry and to acquire and inherit property, and sometimes they could purchase their freedom.[2] Among the Mandingos a master could not kill a slave without a trial.[3] In case of ill-treatment, slaves could place themselves under the protection of another master. Slaves born of kings or men of rank were often appointed to high offices and sometimes forced freemen to kneel at their feet.[4] In this zone the conditions demanded more continuous and systematic labor and consequently afforded less opportunity to pursue the pleasurable occupations of hunting, war and gallantry. In all tropical countries the people always find it difficult to adjust themselves to regular habits of industry. Their temperament causes them to take up occupations which appeal to their love of change, chance and excitement, and require only casual attention. They become restless and rebellious when subjected to routine labor, since it is in the nature of man that his instinctive habits are pleasurable and his acquired habits irksome.[5]

But while the slave labor in this zone was more exacting than in the one below, it was not enough repellent to

[1] Barth, Vol. 2, p. 191; Hovelacque, p. 321; Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 211.
[2] Park, p. 139. [3] Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 213. [4] Staudinger, pp. 570, 573.
[5] Thomas, "The Gaming Instinct," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 6, p. 762.

cause a general uprising. It was just sufficiently hard to conform to the economic conditions and psychological peculiarities of a majority of the people. Clapperton says that an English servant could do in one hour a whole day's work of an African slave.[1] In the millet zone slaves were not so liable to become the victims of superstitious practices but on other accounts their lot was hardly more fortunate than that of the slaves in the banana zone. The millet country was at times visited by famine and if the free people then often had to sell themselves into bondage what must have been the lot of the slave? If they did not starve to death they must indeed have subsisted upon a pitifully scant allowance. Even in ordinary seasons they did not seem to have been very bountifully nourished. In Borgu slaves were fed only twice a day.[2] At Wawa one meal was at nine o'clock almost invariably consisting of a paste of the flour of yams and millet, and a thicker kind approaching to a pudding after sunset and this only in small quantities: flesh, fowl or fish they might occasionally get but only by a very rare chance.[3] Furthermore it frequently happened that villages were attacked and destroyed, grain fields and granaries plundered and the slaves killed, or captured to be sold to strange masters and perhaps to be transported across the desert.

Whatever may be said of the mild treatment of the home-born slaves it is necessary to face the fact that the proportion of home-born slaves was very small. Slaves in this zone were constantly changing their masters and localities. This fact came to the notice of Barth who said, "I was surprised at observing so few home-born slaves in Negro-land . . . and I have come to the conclusion that marriage among domestic slaves is very little encouraged by the natives. Indeed I think myself justified in sup-

[1] "Second Expedition," p. 130.

[2] Clapperton, "Second expedition," p. 130.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

posing that a slave is very rarely allowed to marry. This is a very important circumstance in considering domestic slavery in Central Africa; for if their domestic slaves do not of themselves maintain their numbers, then the deficiency arising from ordinary mortality must constantly be kept up by a new supply, which can be obtained only by kidnapping or more generally by predatory incursions and it is this necessity which makes even domestic slavery appear so baneful and pernicious. The motive for making these observations in this place was the sight of a band of slaves whom we met this morning led on in two files and fastened one to the other by a strong rope round the neck." [1] Barth was mistaken as to the restriction upon marriage, as Clapperton and others state that slaves were permitted to marry and set up independent households, but were required to give a part of their earnings to their master.[2] The rarity of home-born slaves was therefore not due to the prohibition of marriage but to the incessant raiding and kidnapping which caused the slaves to be ever moving from one community to another.

Upon the whole the writer inclines to the view that the lot of the slaves in this zone was less fortunate and less favorable to happiness than that of the slaves in the banana zone; and it is not surprising, therefore, to learn that many slaves became dissatisfied and ran away whenever opportunity offered and whenever they could take their owner's goods or cattle to assist them in their journey.[3] The city of Zirmee, says Clapperton, was a sort of refuge for runaway slaves from all over Hausaland.[4]

Inheritance of Property.—Everywhere in the millet zone property of every kind is more in evidence than in the banana zone and, as in the latter zone, it is generally transmitted in the female line.

[1] Vol. 1, p. 528.
[2] "Second Expedition," p. 181.
[3] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 186.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Everything considered, there is a marked advance in general culture in this zone as compared to the one further south.[1] Towards the coast the drop in the level of culture is precipitous.[2] The interior has the advantage in a larger population, more settled life and more invigorating climate.

[1] Staudinger, p. 621; Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 79.
[2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 102, 103.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE CATTLE ZONE

Character of the Zone.—North of the millet zone the country begins to assume the aspect of an open prairie. Trees become scarce and the predominant vegetation is grass. Here cattle and horses may be seen in great numbers, especially the former, thousands of which exist in a wild state. Sheep and goats also appear in abundance. Camels do not thrive here on account of the insects.[1] This great steppe region of Africa once offered the same rich territory for the wild as now for the tame animals, and was therefore a great hunting ground. Steppe countries all over the world have been the theatres of great hunters.[2] This zone extends all the way across the continent. The line of its northern boundary is impossible of exact definition, but it runs across about with the parallel of Timbuctu.

Cattle the Chief Resource.—The predominant occupation in this zone is the pasturing of cattle, sheep and goats.[3] In the eastern part of this zone the people are sedentary, for example, the Shillooks, Dinkas, Baris and Nuers, while in the west they are more or less nomadic, for example, the Fellatahs, Jolofs, Kanuris, and Soninkes. The Fellatahs have very extensive herds of cattle which every day are driven out to pasture and in the evening brought back to be milked, being under the constant supervision of herdsmen in order to keep them from invading the plantations. "An open shed," says Featherman, "is erected near each village, with a stage in the centre about eight feet high and

[1] Preville, p. 47. [2] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 166.
[3] Ogilby, p. 319; Du Chaillu, "My Apingi Nation," p. 189; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 281; Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, pp. 86, 148; Lorin, p. 308.

from eight to ten feet in diameter, which is ascended by means of a ladder. Here the cattle are housed every night and each animal is tied separately with a bark-fibre rope to a strong stake driven into the ground. . . . The herdsmen mount the elevated platform well armed to defend the herds from the nightly attacks of wild animals."[1] The country is well stocked with sheep and goats, and many of the wealthy people keep a number of horses.

The Dinkas live in farmsteads consisting of small groups of huts scattered over the plains. The cattle of the several districts are kept in a large park called *murah* which rarely contains less than 2,000 beasts and sometimes as many as 10,000. The proportion of cows to inhabitants is about three to one.[2] Each family builds three huts, one of which is used as a hospital for sick cows.[3] Owing perhaps to the coarse quality of the grass and the absence of salt the cows give very little milk and seldom calve.[4] Goats are the chief dependence for milk but are not often killed for meat.[5]

Of the Latukas, Baker says, "The cattle are kept in large kraals in various parts of the town and were most carefully attended to by fires being lit every night to protect them from flies; and high platforms, in three tiers, were erected in many places upon which sentinels watched both day and night to give the alarm in case of danger. The cattle are the wealth of the country and so rich are the Latukas in oxen that ten or twelve thousand head are housed in every large town."[6] The Shillooks live in villages about a mile apart and keep their cattle in enclosures made of straw mats.[7] The Kanuris live in cities or villages and keep in the neighboring pastures "immense herds of cattle, as well as flocks of sheep and goats. Horses and asses receive much attention in some localities."[8] The Jolofs, especially

[1] P. 366. [2] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 167. [3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 159.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 229. [5] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 160. [6] Vol. 1, p. 207.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 63. [8] Featherman, p. 274.

those of the interior uplands, devote much of their attention to raising cattle, sheep and goats, which find rich pastures in the immense prairies thickly covered with grass. The herds and flocks are placed under the care of slaves whose business it is to guard them and to change the pastures according to the seasons.[1]

Hunting.—The people of this zone, especially in the west, are great hunters. They unite in parties of twenty or more to pursue and kill elephants. They sell the tusks of these monsters and dry and smoke the meat which supplies them with a nourishing food for several months.[2]

Agriculture.—But notwithstanding the immense number of cattle and other animals, the milk and flesh do not suffice to feed the population. The cows give only a small quantity of milk, and are not suitable for food unless especially fattened for the purpose. Hence the people are obliged to supplement the pastoral art by cultivating the soil, trading and manufacturing.[3] In some places agriculture receives as much attention as cattle-breeding, while trade receives as much attention as agriculture. In the low lands and well watered places the cultivated products are, for example, among the Fellatahs, rice maize, sorghum, several species of millet, yams, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, watermelons, onions, red-pepper and groundnuts; also cotton, indigo and tobacco.[4] Pretty much the same products are raised throughout this zone, except rice which can be cultivated only in the low lands.[5] Rohlfs supposes that the Fellatahs learned to cultivate grain and vegetables from the native blacks,[6] but it is more probable that they brought a knowledge of agriculture with them, since the Berbers from whom they sprang, combine agriculture with the pastoral art in their desert oases.[7] Wherever any of the Fellatahs show a

[1] Ogilby, p. 345; Featherman, p. 353. [2] Featherman, p. 367.
[3] Preville, p. 48. [4] Featherman, p. 366. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 65, 274, 352.
[6] Vol. 2, p. 132. [7] Demolins, p. 225; Preville, pp. 36–44.

contempt for agriculture it is probably due to the influence of the Arabs who notoriously abhor that kind of work, and to the fact that agriculture is the chief occupation of the despised negroes.

Industrial Arts: Implements.—From the time of the earliest explorers in this region, manufacturing has been carried on extensively in all of the large cities. Leo Africanus, writing in the sixteenth century said of Timbuctu, "It is a woonder to see what plentie of Merchandize is dayly brought hither and how costly and sumptuous all things be. . . . Here are many shops of artificers and merchants and especially of such as weave linnen and cloth." [1] Speaking of the kingdom of Guber he said, "Here are such shoes made as the ancient Romans were woont to weare." [2] At the present time the principal manufacturing centres are Kuka and Sokoto. At the latter city the women spin the home-grown cotton into yarn, by means of a short and elegantly ornamented spindle. The men do the weaving on a primitive loom, and fabricate two kinds of cloth, one being extremely coarse and reserved for home use, the other of a finer texture being made into tunics and exported. Goatskins are tanned various colors and made into bags, cushions, boots, shoes and saddles. From iron and other metals the smiths make implements, tools and sundry ornaments.[3] The Kanuris manufacture in their numerous cities, particularly in that of Kuka, cloth, iron and copper fabrics, saddles, leather bags, sandals, wooden and gourd-dishes, pots, plates, gunpowder, etc.[4] The manufacturers of Kuka usually have their shops along the streets in front of their residences. They are very busy in the morning and again in the afternoon, but rest and sleep during the heat of the day.[5] The

[1] Pp. 287–290. [2] P. 290. [3] Featherman, p. 385.

[4] "Denham's Narrative," p. 182; Featherman, p. 275; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 37; Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 97.

[5] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 339.

implements of industry are about the same in this zone as in the millet zone, except for a greater number of milk cans, which among the Shillooks, are kept clean by daily washing in cow-liquid.[1] Ratzel is of the opinion that iron manufacturing, cattle-breeding and many branches of agriculture in this region were not developed independently by the natives but were introduced by races from outside.[2] In quantity and quality of manufactured products the people of this zone are considerably behind the inhabitants of the millet zone.

Trade.—Trade is very extensively carried on especially in animal products. Thousands of horses, cattle, sheep and goats are sold into the regions of the south,[3] while iron, cotton cloth, leather, ostrich feathers, ivory, dried fish and grain are sold into the regions of the north. Formerly slaves were the chief articles of export. The Tibbus, Tuaregs and Moors cross the desert in great caravans bringing salt from Bilma, and ostriches, horses and dates from the oases; and from Tripoli and Ghadama, raw silk, ottar-of-roses, spices, glass beads, etc., and return with sundry grain and other products of the Sudan.[4] The Shillooks sell to their neighbors cattle, cotton, ivory, etc., and buy from them cutlery, cloth and salt.[5] The Jolofs supply the coast people with milk, eggs and fowls and export to foreign countries great quantities of grain, beans, melon-seed and dried fish.[6] Sokoto of the Fellatah empire, Kuka of the Kanuri empire and Timbuctu of the Songhay empire are the great trade centres of this zone. At present the chief exports to Europe are rubber, groundnuts and hides but in the future cattle may also enter into the items of export. A writer in the *British Board of Trade Journal* says that "the valley of the

[1] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 88. [2] "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, pp. 396, 525.
[3] "Denham's Narrative," p. 241.
[4] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 348; Featherman, pp. 385, 386.
[5] Featherman, p. 66. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

Niger from Bamako to Sansanding is a capital grazing country; the animals breed rapidly and though the flocks and herds have been ravaged by epidemics, it cannot be doubted that in time the Sudan will become an exporter of both sheep and oxen."[1] Reinsch says, "It is not extravagant to expect that West Africa may rival, if not excel, Argentina in the export of cattle and meats to Europe."[2]

Markets.—To facilitate trade markets are held in all of the large towns, where a lively business is done in cattle, horses, grain, fish, vegetables, milk, butter, animal skins, and a great variety of luxuries. Until lately slaves were for sale at all of the markets.[3] People from a distance come afoot or mounted on bullocks.[4] Near the Senegal they bring milk to market in leather bags each holding about five gallons.[5] In the city of Kuka peasants go through the streets with butter, milk, eggs and vegetables crying their wares like the venders of Paris, London or New York. Many women, says Rohlfs, become bald from bearing loads of merchandise upon their heads.[6] Beef is offered for sale at nearly all of the markets.[7] The people use as money cowries, cattle and foreign coins in gold and silver.

Transportation.—Transportation is effected by means of horses, oxen, and asses, except among the Dinkas Shillooks and other people of the Nile regions who have no horses and whose oxen are too lean and lank for beasts of burden.[8] According to Ratzel, none of the Nigritians had learned to ride any animal until the Hamitic pastoral Gallas made their way across the continent.[9] In this zone transportation by water is more common, and the boats are of a better quality than those near the coast.[10]

[1] Reprinted in "Trade and Shipping of Africa," London, 1899, p. 85.
[2] P. 290. [3] Featherman, p. 275. [4] "Denham's Narrative," p. 41.
[5] Du Chaillu, "My Apingi Nation," p. 189. [6] Vol. 1, p. 339.
[7] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 340. [8] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 165.
[9] "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 413. [10] Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 105.

Division of Labor.—On account of the greater variety of resources and activities, division of labor is highly developed. The specialized workers include fishermen, herdsmen, brokers, traders, porters, tanners, weavers, shopkeepers and even barbers who perambulate the streets and whistle to announce their coming.[1]

Slavery.—The combination of cattle-breeding, farming, manufacturing and commerce brings about a considerable demand for labor, and as few individuals offer to serve voluntarily, land being free and the opportunity to gain a livelihood being open to all, the supply can be obtained only by forcing people into slavery. Among the Dinkas, however, where all of the land is occupied, the individuals who have no capital,—and there are many of this class owing to the absence of the patriarchal system,—must offer themselves as wage-earners.[2] Nieboer correctly remarks that "Generally speaking, slavery as an industrial system can only exist where there is still free land."[3] However, the wholesale subjugation of tribes, renders slavery proper unnecessary, except for domestic work, and for craftmen in the cities, and as members of the army. In former times as a result of wars and raiding slaves were superabundant and constituted an important part of the export trade. Now, the export of slaves has ceased except for an occasional slave caravan that crosses the desert. The treatment of slaves in this zone is about the same as the treatment of those in the millet zone. Those born in the family are seldom sold or abused, and as a rule mothers are not separated from their children.[4] The Fellatahs use slaves as domestic and field laborers, traders, and as soldiers and court officers. The great mass of the subject class, however, stand to the Fellatahs in the relation of serfs rather than of slaves. They live in villages to themselves and cultivate the fields and raise cattle under

[1] Featherman, p. 276.
[2] Preville, p. 265.
[3] P. 348.
[4] Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 213; Hovelacque, p. 19.

the supervision of their lords. On certain days of the week, Thursday and Friday, for instance in Foota Jallon, they can work for their own benefit;[1] elsewhere they are permitted to work for themselves one-half of each day. Prior to intervention by the French and British it used to be the custom when the season for field work was over to follow their lords upon military or trading expeditions.[2] It has always been quite common for slaves in this zone to purchase their freedom or earn it as a reward for valuable services to their masters.

The burdensome and oppressive side of slavery has consisted in the excessive tribute which has been exacted from the agricultural slaves who lived in villages to themselves and occupied the position of serfs; and also in the more intense labor required of domestic servants and slave artisans in the towns.

Servitude in this zone, therefore, has had peculiar results. On the one hand its severity and oppressive exactions have made it intolerable to such an extent that many slaves have aspired to freedom. On the other hand the labor performed has been of such diversity and of such stimulating character as not to disqualify the slaves for freedom. It has never been so prolonged or monotonous as to deprive them of those pleasurable excitations which are necessary to keep them in an aspiring state of mind. They have often engaged in war, hunting and trade, and have always had plenty of time for dancing and other recreations. Labor which exacts all of a man's time and has in it nothing that appeals to his passion for change, surprise, combat and victory, is deadening to ambition and in the course of time unfits him for freedom. On the other hand, labor which is sufficiently exacting to accustom man to regularity of habits, and at the same time is of a kind that appeals to his gaming instinct, has a tendency to awaken ambition

[1] Featherman, p. 376. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 387.

and to prepare him for freedom.[1] The slaves in this zone have risen to freedom in great numbers, and therefore it may be concluded that the institution of slavery has been well adapted to the conditions and favorable to that gradual evolution through which other races have found their way to emancipation. The revolting feature of it has been the way in which the slaves were obtained. The Fellatahs and Kanuris of this zone used to go on slave hunting expeditions into the agricultural regions of the south burning and pillaging the villages and treating the inhabitants with great cruelty. Speaking of a raid of some Kanuri horsemen in the Musgu country, Barth says, "To our utmost horror, not less than one hundred and seventy full grown men were mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood, the greater part of them being allowed to bleed to death, a leg having been severed from the body."[2] These raiding expeditions are still carried on to some extent in all of the regions not under effective European control.

Necessity for Thrift and Economy.—To live in this zone requires a combination of occupations, strict economy, and a wise foresight, but the result is more regularity of labor, and more ample and uniform production. The Dinkas are perhaps the most economical people in the world. It is said that they love their cattle more than their wives and children. As they are not able to rob cattle from other people but are often the victims of robbery, they can keep up their supply of cattle only by zealous conservation.[3] In their country, "a cow is never slaughtered, but when sick is segregated from the rest and carefully tended in a large hut built for the purpose. Only those that die naturally or by accident are used as food."[4] Each member of the family

[1] The value of the gaming instinct as an incentive to activity is strongly presented by Prof. W. I. Thomas in his article "The Gaming Instinct," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 6, p. 750.

[2] Vol. 2, p. 369. [3] Preville, p. 263. [4] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 164.

has his or her particular cows or goats and at mealtime drinks only the milk of his own animal.[1] The Dinkas even use cattle for their money and standard of value.[2] The other people of this zone are not so penurious, but are much more thrifty and economical than the inhabitants of the millet or banana zone.

[1] Preville, p. 263.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE CAMEL ZONE

Character of the Zone.—"Like the other parts of Africa," says Reclus, "the Sahara has its highlands, its valleys and running waters, although mainly consisting of vast uniform plateaux, stony wastes and long ranges of dunes rolling away beyond the horizon like the billows of a shoreless sea. Here is the true wilderness, a region destitute of flowering plants or shrubs, without birds or butterflies, and exposed only to the blind forces of the heat and the winds."[1] . . . "As soon as the softer rocks present an aperture through which the outer air can penetrate, the work of disintegration has begun. Dolmites, gypsums and sandstones begin to crumble and are slowly changed into sand or dust; the surface of the rock gradually corrodes, leaving here and there the harder core which develops into pyramids or pillars standing out in the midst of the sands."[2] The mean elevation of the desert is 1,100 feet. The old rivers are dried up and nothing remains but a few springs, and to obtain water, wells must be sunk in likely spots selected by the skilled eye of the nomad. The water is generally brackish. The temperature varies from 146° in the shade in daytime to six below freezing at night. The air is so dry that the flesh of a dead animal never becomes putrid.[3]

Well, across the desert, northeast from Lake Chad about 500 miles, is Tibesti, the home of the Tibbus, men of the rocks, the northernmost dwellers of the Negro race. The country consists of a mass of rocky mountains about 300 miles long bounding the northern horizon. The southern ranges rise to an elevation of 8,300 feet, while the

[1] Vol. 2, p. 417. [2] Vol. 2, p. 418. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 421.

northern ranges form a broad table-land rising to about the height of 3,300 feet. The width of the mountain mass is about sixty miles. In the northeast the mountains are split into inaccessible rocks, which viewed from a distance give the impression of fantastic castles, cathedrals and gigantic men and beasts.

Camels Thrive Upon the Scant Vegetation.—Most of the rocks are bare and the gravelly soil produces neither trees nor shrubs. The whole country would be uninhabitable but for a small amount of rain which falls chiefly in the month of August and moistens the valleys. When water falls in the uplands and begins to flow down the gorges, having nothing to arrest its course, it gathers force and often sweeps away everything in its path, including sheep, goats and camels. Fortunately some of the precipitated water is retained in the fissures and depressions of the valleys where the people congregate and eke out an existence. A little grass and a few scrubs spring up in the moist depressions affording pastures for the animals and enabling the people to cultivate patches of wheat, vegetables, the date palm, etc. This is the land of the goat, ass and particularly the camel, thousands of which live in the valleys, nibbling the tough grass and the tougher shrubs. Denham observed one tribe of Tibbus that had over 5,000 camels.[1] Horses are also to be seen here but in relatively less number. According to Ratzel, the Sahara was not inhabited until the camel and horse were brought from Asia.[2] The wild animals of the region are the antelope, hyena, jackal, fox and monkey. Vultures, ravens, pigeons and doves are very prevalent and here and there may be seen a few ostriches.

Milk the Chief Food.—The Tibbus live principally upon the milk of their goats. In the way of vegetable food they have the date palm, and grain which they partly raise and partly import. They rarely eat meat and never kill an

[1] P. 29.

[2] "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 169.

animal until it is old, diseased or wounded. Then the whole carcass is consumed including skin and bones, the latter being beaten into a powder. Nachtigal relates that when he was traveling through Tibesti, some of the natives on one occasion stole and ate a pair of his boots.

Hard Struggle for Existence.—The Tibbus have a severe struggle for a living. To find means of support requires energy, economy and intelligence. It is even a problem to keep warm in winter, as the only fuel consists of the droppings of the camel. The people often suffer from hunger and thirst. When any of them happens to be lost in the desert, it is his custom to travel only during the night and to rest in the shade of some rock during the day. If he chances to come upon the bone of some animal, he makes a meal of it by pounding and mixing it with blood drawn from his camel or other mount. As a last resort he lashes himself to whatever animal he is riding and trusts to its instinct to discover the nearest way home.

Caravan Trade.—The scant resources of the country compel the Tibbus to rely largely upon commerce for supplying their needs. As traders they are exceedingly shrewd and intelligent, easily outdoing the Arabs. The chief article of export is salt which they obtain from Bilma where it forms upon the surface of the marsh as a result of evaporation. They carry this article across the desert to Kuka on Lake Chad, to Darfur and Waday,[1] and return with grain, cotton cloth, slaves, etc. At Darfur and Waday salt is so valuable that it is used as the standard of value.[2] Some of the Tibbus, instead of trading on their own account, act as guides to caravans or hire their camels to traders who undertake expeditions. Tibesti is a great stopping place for caravans crossing the desert from Murzuk to Kuka.

No Need for Slaves.—The Tibbus have no use for slaves except as articles of commerce or as beasts of burden.

[1] Barth, Vol. 2, p. 150. [2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 266.

However, as an economic mode of transportation, slave carriers cannot be excelled, because at the end of the journey both the goods and the vehicles are liquidated and there is no returning of empty cars or empty holds as in railway or steamship transportation.

Backward in Industrial Arts.—In common with all pastoral people, the Tibbus are poorly developed in industrial lines. This is partly due to the absence of materials, and partly to the simplicity of their manner of life. They even despise all mechanical work and show a contempt for their rather skilled smiths,[1] regarding them as magicians and treating them as outcasts. No free woman will marry a smith and no freeman will eat out of a plate with a smith or sleep under his roof.[2]

General Considerations Respecting the Four Zones.—Looking back over the four zones under consideration, there seems to be a general ascent in industrial conditions up to the camel zone, where progress is arrested by deficiency of natural resources and thinness of population. The amount of skill, thrift and enterprise in some localities is quite remarkable in view of the adverse conditions. The higher industrial status of the millet and cattle zones is due to the greater dryness and consequently less enervating character of the climate, more varied resources and superior intelligence of the people resulting from the intermixture and contact with the Berbers and Arabs. In the social, as in the physical, world activity is intensified by the coming together of unlike individuals or units.[3] The eminent German ethnologist, Waitz, writing in 1859 when the passions of the people were aroused over the slavery question, was led to make the statement that "the majority of the American people are considerably behind the Negro in both material and intellectual attainments."[4] His fellow countryman

[1] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 259.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 258, 259.
[3] Giddings, "Principles of Sociology, p. 102.
[4] Vol. 2, p. 78.

Ratzel, with a clearer and more dispassionate mind says truthfully that the remarkable thing about the Negro is his high economic status and low moral status.[1]

Of course such eulogistic remarks in reference to the Negro are based upon the type found in the millet and cattle zones. In the banana zone the economic status of the Negro has always been low and the effect of the European intervention in that zone has been to exhaust the native resources and to demoralize and destroy such native industries as originally existed. The population of this zone is lacking in energy and it is with difficulty that the white exploiters can find sufficient laborers to carry out their projects.

The European policy of attempting to change the native system of tribal ownership of land into individual ownership is especially injurious in the banana zone where the people live so largely upon the fruits of nature and where the intensive method of agriculture is impossible except for white men with capital and coerced labor. The general result is that the individual holder "becomes the victim of men shrewder than themselves, who entangle him in legal obligations which sooner or later result in the loss of his land."[2] Since land ownership is necessary to any sound economic development or social stability, the European policy of alienation undermines the foundation of the native societies and renders their progress much more difficult than it otherwise would be.

Another hurtful policy of the Europeans is that of making the African colonies merely consumers of products manufactured in Europe instead of seeking to introduce manufacturing among the natives so that they may have something with which to buy foreign products, when they have been deprived of their land or find its natural resources insufficient for subsistence or monopolized by the white

[1] "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 254. [2] Reinsch, p. 316.

man.[1] The Yorubas used to consume yearly about 31,500,000 yards of cotton-cloth, of which ninety-five per cent. was of home manufacture, made of home grown cotton, dyed with native dyes and woven of yarn spun by hand. Nearly twenty-five per cent. of the population was employed in preparing cotton for the native market.[2] The English are now seeking to supplant this native industry. On the coast regions native manufacturing has already notably declined as a result of competition with European goods and unless other kinds of industries are substituted the economic status of the people is likely to go from bad to worse. In both the French and British Sudan the lands are gradually being monopolized by the white men and also the general trade. Hence the natives, by degrees, are being driven out of their traditional lines of activity and deprived of their customary means of subsistence. As compensation for this loss they may find a livelihood in gathering rubber and other natural products from the lands preëmpted by the white man or in hiring themselves out as wage-earners. In the banana zone where the climate conditions will prevent the white man from settling in any considerable numbers for a long time to come, the natives will not find much opportunity to work as wage-earners, and the rubber and palm-oil regions will gradually become exhausted. Therefore the economic outlook for that zone is not at all bright. Even if the demand for wage earners should become ever so great, the natives would not volunteer to work because, thanks to the bounty of nature, they can eke out some kind of existence upon the spontaneous products of nature.

In the millet and cattle zones, the white men are likely to settle in large numbers and to offer to the natives opportunities to work as herdsmen, field laborers, domestic servants and so on. The natives being accustomed to systematic work, and not being able to live upon the spontaneous

[1] Reinsch, p. 307.

[2] *African News*, Vol. 3, 1891, p. 185.

products of the country, will probably volunteer to work in sufficient numbers to meet all the demands for laborers. The economic outlook therefore in these zones (*i. e.*, French Sudan and British Northern Nigeria and Eastern Sudan) is quite favorable for the natives as well as for the European exploiters.

A study of the conditions of life in the several zones, does not seem to support the idea advanced by Condorcet in the eighteenth century that man has passed successively through the hunting, pastoral and agricultural stages. The facts rather suggest that man was first a vegetarian, living upon the spontaneous products of nature, and that the dense forest and steppe countries which always border the fruit zones and abound in game, tempted man next to hunt: that hunting led to the pastoral art, since following groups of domesticated animals is the natural substitute for hunting them, and the natural transition to an industrial and settled life; and that agriculture came in later, followed by manufacturing.

Before closing this chapter the attention of the reader is called to a very important conclusion to which the facts seem strongly to point. It is that primitive societies are intensely individualistic and not at all communistic as is often alleged,[1] especially by socialists, for example Spargo in his recent book, "Socialism," page 81. Communistic institutions are a later development and apparently belong only to people having a pastoral organization, as among the natives of the Asiatic Steppe, or a solid clan organization, as among the Indians of North and Central America. In the Sudan the pastoral Jolofs and Fellatahs sometimes form groups and cultivate the fields in common and divide the crop in common.[2]

[1] For instance by Paul Barth, p. 382.

[2] Featherman, p. 350.

CHAPTER VIII

FAMILY LIFE IN THE BANANA ZONE

Methods of Obtaining Wives.—The family life of the people throughout the entire Sudan has undergone no perceptible change since the appearance of the first European explorers, except in a few particulars to be noted on another page.

In the banana zone there are two methods of obtaining wives. One is by means of capture and the other by purchase, or the giving of presents to the bride's parents. For several reasons female merchandise does not command a high price. In the first place women are superabundant. They are said to be three times more numerous than men among the Dahomans.[1] In the next place it costs very little to raise girls, and their services are not very valuable to their parents owing to the undeveloped character of agriculture and industry. The wife needs no dowry and the husband no capital for establishing a home. Among the Ibo people custom requires only that the groom give his bride a few ornaments, and that her parents give him a bow and arrow, a knife and some provisions.[2] In Dahomi it used to be the custom for the men to purchase their wives from the king, who was supposed to own everything in the empire, including the women. He kept up his supply by frequent raids upon neighboring villages.[3] In many cases children are betrothed at five or six years of age,[4] and sometimes before they are born. In either event the purchaser pays to the girl's parents a part of the price in advance, and the balance when the girl reaches the age of puberty. If a

[1] Foa, p. 191.
[2] Hawkins, p. 109.
[3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 199.
[4] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 79.

betrothed girl dies, the family must substitute another.[1] Girls who reach the marriageable age without being betrothed, make their début into society by painting their faces and arms, decking themselves with jewels and finery, and with a broom in their hands to drive away evil spirits, exhibit themselves in the streets. They thus announce that they are ready to receive bids.[2] Marriage is a somewhat commercial or animal affair in which there is little admixture of romance. A suitor does not say, "I love this girl," but "I want her."[3] Being a mere chattel the girl has no choice in the selection of her husband. A female is always treated as property; first she is the property of her parents, then of her husband (although in some cases a wife may own property distinct from that of her husband's) and later of her inheritor.[4] In some districts it is usual just before the marriage for women to be immured in huts for the purpose of undergoing a fattening process.[5] In a majority of cases marriages are celebrated by feasting and dancing, but sometimes they occur without any kind of ceremony.[6] Girls marry as soon as they reach the age of puberty, become mothers at the age of thirteen or fourteen, and grandmothers at the age of thirty-five.[7]

Polygamy.—Polygamy is well nigh universal, and the conditions favoring it are first, the prevalence of war, causing a scarcity of men, and second, the incapacity of one woman to provide for a household. Miss Kingsley thinks that polygamy is due largely to the laziness of the Negro women who require help in housekeeping. An Irish or Englishwoman, she says, could do in a day what a whole village of African women do in a week.[8] Wives do not at all object to polygamy, but on the contrary, in order to

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 201. [2] Brackenbury, p. 323.
[3] Bouche, p. 145. [4] Bouche, p. 145; Featherman, p. 228.
[5] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 238. [6] Forbes, Vol. 1, p. 26.
[7] Foa, p. 110. [8] "Travels in West Africa," p. 492.

lighten their work, continually urge their husbands to take other wives or purchase slave girls as concubines.[1] A third reason for polygamy is that husbands live apart from their wives during the period of pregnancy and nursing which lasts two or three years.[2] In the meantime the women sometimes choose a substitute husband.[3] Still another reason, once pointed out by Montesquieu, is that of the early fading of the women, resulting from their precocious development and early marriage.[4] In consequence of the addition, now and then, of other wives to the family, it not infrequently happens that a father has several daughters much older than some of his wives.[5] "The wives of the common husband," says Foa, "do not show among themselves that jealousy peculiar to monogamous people. They live generally on good terms, and those who have no children take care of the others' children as if they were their own.[6] In Dahomi the men of the common people have not more than two or three wives each; the priests have about a dozen; the chiefs of tribes have twenty or thirty, and the king has four or five hundred.[7]

Ideas About Chastity.—Chastity among unmarried or unbetrothed women is not at all valued or insisted upon. Montesquieu in his time thought that the unchastity of women in warm countries was due to the climate which excited their passions, and for that reason all of the women had to be kept secluded and under watch.[8] This theory, however, is only true in part. The climate influences chastity only in an indirect manner, by fostering a life of idleness and suppressing the development of the faculties of mind that preside over the feelings. The Eskimos are as licentious as the Negroes or any other people, and largely for

[1] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 288.
[2] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 206.
[3] Hovelacque, p. 314. [4] Vol. 1, p. 370. [5] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 79.
[6] P. 243. [7] Foa, p. 191. [8] Vol. 1, p. 377.

the same reason, to wit, that the conditions of life force them to spend a great portion of their time in idleness and do not develop the inhibiting faculties. Civilized people, by developing their intellectual and moral nature can overcome the influences of climate and other natural conditions that militate against moral progress. But this is digressing. If a girl in the banana zone is betrothed, she must remain a virgin up to her marriage, and then give proof of her chastity the day after marriage by exhibiting to the public her soiled garments.[1] It would seem that the general practice of early marriage would render unchastity before marriage almost impossible, but owing to the fact that men do not always wait for girls to arrive at the pubertal age there are many cases of seduction. When a case of this kind happens the seducer is generally required to pay for the girl as if he had married her, although no disgrace attaches to either sex for the adultery. The universal understanding of adultery among the people of this zone is that of an offense with reference to married women only,[2] and then it is considered an offense not against chastity but against property. Joseph Hawkins says that the Ibo women are by no means averse to gallantry,[3] and that few remain virgin until they marry.[4] The Assinians consider it a mark of hospitality to provide an "épouse intérimaire" for strangers.[5] As a rule neither single nor married women have the power of resisting an importunity. Up to 1818 the amazons at the court of Dahomi were composed mostly of wives detected in adultery.[6] In Benin, says Ogilby, a husband keeps away from his wife a year and a half after a child-birth, "but she knows well enough how to play her game in the meantime with others."[7] "Almost everywhere," says Hovelacque,

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 156.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 204.
[3] P. 104. [4] P. 109. [5] Hovelacque, p. 307.
[6] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 183. [7] P. 472.

"the chastity of a daughter who is not married is of no value."[1] On the Gold Coast the rape of mere children is not uncommon.[2] The temples that the Negroes erect to their gods are places of promiscuous sexual freedom. "Priestesses," says Ellis, "are ordinarily most licentious and custom allows them to gratify their passions with any man who may chance to take their fancy. . . . Their life is one continual round of debauchery and sensuality, and when excited by the dance they frequently abandon themselves to the wildest excesses."[3] During the Ashanti Yam Custom "For days all laws are abrogated and the greatest licentiousness is permitted."[4] In Ashanti the gods are supposed to have repugnance for women during their period of menstruation, and at this time women must leave town and reside in small huts in the forest. "In such districts it is said that women often take advantage of this custom and pretending that the period is at hand, go off to the bush and there enjoy the society of their admirers without restraint."[5] "Modesty," says Ellis, "is a term untranslatable into Tshi and the notion would be regarded as ridiculous."[6]

In passing judgment upon the sexual morality of the people of this zone the reader should bear in mind that in a land of plenty where children are always supported by their mothers, illegitimate offspring are as well cared for as the legitimate, and therefore the consequences of free intercourse are not the same as among civilized people, and it is also to be remembered that the accommodating disposition of Negro women is not at all due to mercenary considerations, but results from mere amiability, natural impulse and lack of diverting interests. Indeed, the Negroes believe that their passions are inspired by the gods and ought to be obeyed. Their motives are not immoral and their practice

[1] P. 432. [2] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 94. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 263. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 95. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

therefore does not merit the epithets of "licentiousness" and "sensuality" in the sense in which those terms apply to civilized people. The violation of a woman and the adultery with a married woman are considered immoral and are universally condemned. It is not fair to judge savage people by civilized standards.

"Ye high, exalted, virtuous Dames
Ty'd up in godly laces;
Before ye gie poor Frailty names
Suppose a change o' cases."

Before the French and British colonial laws interfered to modify the native code the penalty for adultery varied from death in the case of intrigue with the wives of the king, which was not uncommon, to a flogging.[1] The daughters of kings or chiefs could live with or marry whom they pleased and change their partners as often as their fancy dictated.[2]

Family Dwellings.—The houses in this zone are partly rectangular and partly round.[3] The large rectangular houses of the banana zone have come into use on account of the density of population and the necessity of living compactly in readiness for defense against invaders.[4] The houses built in this form have a solid foundation of dried mud a yard high, upon which a light frame work is built, covered with mats woven from the leaf-stalks of palms.[5] The round styles are the more primitive. They consist of a wall, made of mud and small stones, which the sun bakes into the hardness of brick.[6] The roof is thatched and in order to throw off the downpour of rain it is conical in shape. The small conical shaped houses

[1] Forbes, Vol. 1, p. 138. [2] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 187.
[3] Hawkins, p. 73; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 113.
[4] Preville, p. 218. [5] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 113.
[6] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 319.

made necessary by the climate perhaps have something to do with the practice of the husbands and wives in living and eating apart, and therefore also have something to do with polygamy and the general morality of the family. In Europe according to Preville the size of households in different localities is connected with the size and shape of the dwellings—the small dwellings, with conical roofs, being peculiar to districts where the households are small.[1] The threshold of the houses in some localities of the banana zone, as in Bonny, is eighteen inches high to prevent the intrusion of miscellaneous animals.[2] The houses have no windows, but in some cases the roofs are adjusted so that they can be raised.[3] In Bonny the houses have three rooms, a kitchen, living-room and juju-room, *i. e.*, a place for the house gods, charms, etc.[4] Most of the houses in this zone, however, have only one room. In Dahomi each wife has a separate house for herself, her children and slaves. When a boy is big enough to walk he goes over to live in the house occupied by his father.[5] In dry weather people often sleep on mats outside of their houses.[6]

The Women Support the Family.—The burden of supporting the family devolves almost exclusively upon the women. With two or three wives or slaves, a man can live from year to year in tolerable ease and luxury. His women bring food for him from the plantain groves, sometimes bearing on their backs a hundred weight of fruit.[7] They bring fire-wood from the forest and water from the nearest streams.[8] In so far as the man is concerned, the only burden of supporting a family consists in the original expenses of the wedding.[9] A clear sense of the obligation to support a wife does not arise anywhere until property begins

[1] P. 220.
[2] Wood, p. 671.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 630.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 671.
[5] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 204.
[6] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 89.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 88.
[8] Brackenbury, p. 324.
[9] Foa, p. 191.

to be held as a unit by the father, as it is among pastoral people, and to be transmitted without division in the male line.

Relation Between Husbands and Wives.—The husbands and wives are bound together by natural affection, but not of that elevated kind characteristic of civilized people. The husband's interest in his wife or wives is largely animal and economic. "There is no romantic sentiment," says Ellis, "and the relation between the sexes is ordinarily quite passionless. This is, no doubt, partly due to polygamy and the enslaved condition of women, but is, I believe, principally due to that early gratification of the sexual passion which prevails amongst uncivilized peoples."[1] The husband does not often turn his hand to lighten the work of his wife and "in recompense for her services she often receives kicks."[2] The wife lives in a hut alone and when called by her lord, crawls on her knees and prostrates herself at his feet.[3] Among the Bassamese each wife lives four or five days at a time with her husband.[4] The fact that the work of supporting the population devolves upon the women would seem to give them a position of exceptional independence, but it does not on account of the counteracting military life of the men which everywhere favors despotism in both the family and the State.

Divorce is at the will of the husband, and if the wife is unchaste or unruly he can demand a repayment of the purchase money from her parents. In any case of divorce the children usually remain with the mother.[5]

Relation Between Parents and Children.—The affection of mothers for their children is ordinarily very deep and genuine, if not always lasting. Children are regarded as blessings and their coming into the world is the occasion of great rejoicing. In Ashanti, "three months after the birth

[1] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 285. [2] Foa, p. 187. [3] Bouche, p. 146.
[4] Featherman, p. 137. [5] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 187.

of the child, its mother makes offerings to the tutelary deity of the family, and then attired in her best clothes and covered with gold ornaments, she pays visits to her friends and neighbors, accompanied by a band of singing women who sing songs of thanksgiving for her safe delivery. In such songs gratitude is expressed, not only to the tutelary deity, but also to all of the inhabitants of the town or village," for she is glad that none of her neighbors has caused a *suhman* to do her mischief. Hawkins says of the Ibo people that parental love is among their most distinguished characteristics.[1] But as among the lower animals, so among the lower races of men, love of offspring is of short duration. Except in rare cases the love of the Negro mother for her child does not last more than a few years. If she cares for it beyond that time, it is because of its usefulness to her. "The Dahoman mother," says Foa, "is not attached to her child; the day that she loses it she regrets the loss of labor it was in condition to do and the resource that death has taken away;—that is all." [2] Beyond the sucking period, a child receives little care or counsel. "If the child," says Foa, "has an idea of good or bad, it is nature which has given it to him. His good and bad instincts are developed at hazard: his parents have been able to think up to a certain point of his physical well-being, but they have left to his good sense the task of forming his character.[3] . . . We have lived several years in the midst of them and we have never seen a mother embrace her child.[4] . . . We know that the act of embracing with the lips is an invention of civilization which is ignored by all primitive peoples, but animals themselves find means in a thousand ways of manifesting their tenderness for their little ones. In default of the act, the Negroes should at least be able to speak to the child and lavish the little flatteries that the civilized mother employs to attract its attention and to habituate it to the

[1] P. 96. [2] P. 190. [3] P. 111. [4] P. 113.

sound of her voice. There is nothing of this. She leaves it to sleep or lie awake,—to play with whatever it finds. If it learns to speak it will be by listening to the conversation around it and hence it learns to speak very late. If it falls, she picks it up, if it cries she rocks it in her arm to make it hush. Children are cared for physically, that is, prevented from rolling in a ditch, falling in the fire or tumbling in a well, but no affection, no solicitude inspires the care of it.[1] . . . As soon as a child can walk, it receives no further care. It is carried for a year, then left to run right and left. If it has older brothers or sisters, it is most often left to them. When it reaches the age of seven or eight years, it is put to work, sometimes even before that time if it is robust and precocious. It accompanies the father or mother, bears the burdens and is made useful in proportion to its strength. From the tenth year the discipline becomes more severe, lashes rain upon it if it commits a fault or fails to do its part of the common work." [2] Many parents, says Duncan, "offered to sell me their sons and daughters as slaves." [3] And, "The majority of Africans," he adds, "will sell their own offspring for a good price with much less reluctance than an Englishman would part with a favorite dog." [4] Nevertheless, there are exceptional cases where parents show for their children a more lasting love. For example, Duncan relates that on one occasion an old woman with her leprous son came to him from a long distance to beg for some medicine wherewith to cure her son's infirmity. She prostrated herself at his feet, covered herself with dirt, and with arms outstretched and imploring sang to him an extempore song of praise and prayer.[5] In this zone a married woman is seldom found who has more than three or four living children. This is due partly to the unfavorable climate which causes

[1] P. 114. [2] P. 194. [3] Vol. 1, p. 79. [4] Vol. 1, p. 262.
[5] Vol. 2, p. 216 This woman came from the interior of the country and was probably a native of the millet zone.

a high rate of mortality, partly to ignorance and neglect on part of mothers, and partly to the fact that women fade early and die early.

The affection of fathers for children is naturally weaker than that of mothers, but not so lacking as one would imagine from the fact that the children are supposed to belong only to the mother. Fathers as well as mothers give to every infant born to them a cordial welcome. Ellis informs us that "eight days after the birth, the father of the new born child proceeds with some of his friends to the house where the mother is, and they seat themselves in a circle in front of the entrance. The child is then brought out and handed to the father, who returns thanks to the tutelary deity and gives it its second name, squirting at the same time a little rum from his mouth into the child's face." [1] As in the case of the mother, the affection of the father for his child is short-lived, although in some cases, fathers have shown marked attachment for their grown sons. As illustrating an exceptional case of this kind, it may be mentioned that upon the re-meeting of the king of Grand Berebee and his son they "threw themselves into each other's arms, wept, laughed and danced for joy." [2]

Love of children for their parents is also short-lived. "Children are devoted to their parents," says Foa, "when they are very young, but at seven or eight years they become indifferent, reserved and false." [3] When the mother is old and unfit for work, she eats only if her children are good enough to think of her.[4] The Aminas, says Featherman, abandon their sick parents without aid or relief.[5] Reverence for old age is not a conspicuous virtue in this zone, even among the aristocratic classes, for Duncan says that the Dahoman king required his aged mother to prostrate herself at his

[1] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 233.
[2] *Journal of an African Cruiser*, p. 85.
[3] P. 192. [4] Foa, p. 187. [5] P. 143.

feet as an ordinary subject and to throw dirt over her old gray hair.[1] Writing of Benin in the sixteenth century Ogilby says that "by a particular custom which they term Law, the king and his mother may not see one another as long as they live." She is required to live in a palace outside of the city.[2]

The slave trade, no doubt, had a tendency to loosen family ties, since the high price of slaves was a special inducement for parents to sell their children and the economic distress brought about by the trade rendered it more necessary that children should be sold. The continual raiding and kidnapping made the home life much more unsettled than it otherwise would have been, and this militated against the strengthening of ties between members of a household.

Children Take the Name of the Mother.—Children always take the name of their mother, except among the upper classes of Dahomi where, on account of the greater certainty of parentage, kinship is traced in the male line.[3] Where the matriarchate prevails the father is not really a member of the family. He lives, sleeps and eats apart from his wives, and does not even claim as his own the children that he begets. Sometimes he obtains ownership in several of them by having them pawned to him by their mother.[4] The practice of burying children alive with their mothers, as is done among the Ashantis[5] and savage people generally, arose, in all probability, from the idea that children were the exclusive property of the mother.

Mourning Customs as Indicative of Affection.—Some indication of the affection between members of a family is shown in the mourning customs. Among the Ewe people it is the general practice for a widow to remain in her house for forty days after the death of her husband.[6] Ac-

[1] Vol. 1, p. 253. [2] P. 476. [3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 210.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 221. [5] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 234.
[6] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 160.

cording to Foa, the mourning for a husband lasts twelve moons, but it consists only of the widow's putting aside jewelry and ornaments and shaving her head. She can marry when she likes. The husband is not obliged to go in mourning for his wife, but if he wishes to testify to his sorrow, he merely shaves his head. He can remarry the next day.[1] Funeral ceremonies take the form of wailing, ejaculations, dancing, singing, drinking, and laughing. At funerals, says Ellis, the greater number of the mourners are commonly in a state of intoxication.[2] "If the Negro," says Foa, "felt as we, this intense moral pain which the loss of a dear one provokes, this compulsory abandonment of a person with whom one has lived and spent his years,—if he were but affected by a misfortune of this kind,—it would not be possible to sing and laugh as he does. It is impossible to admit that pain manifests itself by gaiety among the blacks. That would be human nature reversed."[3] . . . "This convulsion that is called laughing results from a tranquil state of mind, from a physique without pain and from a certain degree of felicity, as little as it may be. Gaiety is at least indifference if it is not joy."[4] However, this very natural opinion of Foa's may possibly be the result of a partial misunderstanding of Negro psychology. The disposition of the Negro to make merry at a funeral, has its origin, to all appearances, in a desire to drown his brief. It is the reflex action of the shock seeking to find vent in some kind of activity. At least, in many instances, the Negro feels genuine and keen sorrow over the loss of friends and relatives. In support of this view it is only necessary to recall the beautiful custom of holding annual festivals in commemoration of relatives who have died within the past two or three years. This attention to the deceased may be partly

[1] Foa, p. 197.
[2] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 239.
[3] P. 189.
[4] P. 190.

inspired by a fear of their disembodied spirits, but it is also inspired by some feelings of love and sorrow. Ellis thinks that the sacrifices of human beings at funerals is due "to an exaggerated regard for the dead" for "even years after a man's death slaves and captives are sometimes sacrificed to his memory."[1]

Inheritance.—Wives inherit nothing from their husband and children nothing from their father. The mother's property alone goes to her children, while the property of the father goes to his brother or sister. If the wife has no children, her property does not even then go to her husband, but to her brother or sister. The wife's property which sometimes consists of slaves, is distinct from that of her husband's.[2] Children born to slaves of the husband belong to him,[3] and they are bequeathed as any other property. The lot of orphan children is usually a hard one. When they happen to be inherited by a brother of a deceased mother, says Foa, they "are abandoned to a complete misery."[4] The lack of solidity of the family property is due to the lack of solidity of the family.[5] Upon the whole it is very obvious that the functions of the family are performed abnormally and imperfectly in this zone. Three essential functions of a normal family as emphasized by Small and Vincent in their Introduction to the "Study of Society," are almost entirely neglected, to wit, that of the mutual interchange of ideas, that of intellectual training and that of socialization.[6]

[1] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 159.
[2] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 206.
[3] Kingsley, "West African Studies," p. 402.
[4] P. 199.
[5] Post, "Entwicklungs geschichte des Familienrechts," p. 266.
[6] Pp. 246–247.

CHAPTER IX

FAMILY LIFE IN THE MILLET ZONE

Wives Purchased.—The status of the family in the millet zone, is in some respects and in some localities, as low as in the banana zone, yet in the main it represents a decided advance. The women are relatively not so abundant, which is due in part perhaps to the general absence of sacrifices in which the men are the chief victims and to the less number of wars in which the men are also the chief victims. The relative scarcity of women also results from the fact that, in order to get a wife, a man must pay a substantial price and accumulate some property wherewith to live. He must have a house, which is usually larger and more comfortable than the average house of the banana zone, he must have some grain-jars or bins, some domestic animals, some articles of furniture, etc. Those who can afford it, often have houses with several rooms, one for cooking and others for lodgings for the wives and slaves.[1] The furniture consists of beds, wooden hooks for hanging up clothes,[2] stools, sofas, etc.[3] As to the prices paid for wives, it is said that in the Bautchi district, men pay for a wife about 25,000 cowries,[4] while in Yoruba the price is sometimes $40 or about 56,000 cowries. The sum, whatever it may be, is regarded by the parents as compensation to them for the loss of the services of their daughter.[5] The common price for a wife among the Krumen is three cows and one sheep. In the eastern part of this zone the purchase of wives is usually made with iron plates or spades.[6] If the suitor is too poor

[1] Staudinger, p. 602. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 601. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 588.
[4] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 158. [5] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 182.
[6] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 302.

to pay the price at once he sometimes serves the parents of the prospective bride for a period of one or two years. He will carry loads to market, plant yams, hunt, fish, and so forth. The greater sacrifice necessary to procure a wife in this zone causes girls to marry a little later, although they are sometimes purchased at a very tender age. They have not much choice in the selection of their husbands, but still have more than the girls of the banana zone.[1] In some localities they must get the consent of their grandmothers,[2] a fact which indicates a more stable family life and longer period of contact between parents and children. Whenever grandparents come to be influential in the life of a family, it is significant of a great step forward. As in the banana zone, marriages are usually celebrated by some kind of hubbub which is kept up most of the night. In Jacoba, the ceremony is in the form of capture, the groom being required to carry away the bride by force.[3] Marriages among the Mohammedans require simply the presence of a few witnesses and a prayer by the malam.[4] Freemen seldom marry slave women.[5]

Polygamy.—Polygamy is not so pronounced in this as in the lower zone. In the first place the balance of the sexes is more even, and in the second place the purchase of several wives entails an expenditure which not many men can afford. One wife is the rule, and only the rich have two or three.[6] A poor man who cannot afford a young wife usually takes a second-hand one,—that is, a widow.[7] So far as the amount of work necessary to maintain a household is concerned, there is a strong reason why both the men and women should favor polygamy, in that the work which falls to the lot of the average married woman is comparatively heavy. She must, besides doing the field work, prepare the grain,

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 40. [2] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 329.
[3] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 149. [4] Staudinger, p. 564. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 558.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 558. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 559.

beat, sift and pound it into flour and cook it. She must make grease and soap, card and spin cotton, and so on. And to do all this she must rise before day.[1] However, the increased work which the maintenance of a household entails in this zone is largely done by slaves who are much easier to procure and much cheaper than wives.

Women More Chaste Than in the Banana Zone.—Chastity is generally more esteemed in this zone, although in some localities it is as little valued as in the banana zone.[2] "Contrary to what happens in our civilized countries," says Binger, "a girl who has a child is not disesteemed among the Siènré; on the contrary, she more easily marries, since one is sure that she is not barren."[3] Almost all of the girls have a child before marriage, and whenever it happens that a nubile girl dies without giving birth to a child she is often denied a proper burial on account of the dread of touching a woman who is barren.[4] Among the Yorubas, according to Ellis, virginity is not valued *per se*, "but because it is proof that the betrothed has not infringed the exclusive privileges of the husband *in futuro*, and non-virginity in a bride is only a valid ground for repudiation when the girl has been betrothed at a tender age, for unbetrothed girls can bestow their favors upon whom they please."[5] "Adultery can only be committed with a married woman."[6] "The virtue of chastity," says Clapperton, "I do not believe to exist at Wawa."[7]

Farther to the north in this zone there are indications that chastity is held in higher estimation. Canot says that chastity is more insisted upon among the Mandingos and Soosoos than among the people of the Slave Coast.[8] Spils-

[1] Binger, Vol. 2, pp. 43, 44.
[2] Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 112; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 40.
[3] Vol. 1, p. 204.
[4] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 214.
[5] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 184.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 186.
[7] "Second Expedition," p. 129.
[8] P. 269.

bury is so extravagant as to say that the natives of Sierra Leone are "more modest as to their actions and behavior than many of our European fantastical women of fashion."[1] Their dress is only a strip of cloth around the loins, "yet with this simple covering they are far more modest than the girls of Europe."[2] The Kakanda are described as having innate modesty and gentleness. In the millet zone, it is noticeable that there are not so many temples and amorous deities to foster licentiousness as in the banana zone. The women are more particular about covering their bodies, and public exhibitions of indecency are not at all common.

Family Dwellings Better.—Significant of the higher family life in this zone is the fact that the people have larger and better houses and more furniture.[3] The houses are usually circular in form and constructed of red or gray mud and finished overhead with a conical thatched roof. The Madis sometimes crown a hut with the egg-shell of an ostrich.[4] More durable houses are often made in the same style of woven reeds. On the lower Niger rectangular houses are quite common, having made their way in from the coast.[5] In some places the houses are very large, having ten or more rooms, of which one is about fifteen feet long and eight feet wide, opening into an interior court where domestic animals, especially goats, make themselves at home. In other localities the houses have two stories, and hinged windows and doors. Either from considerations of sanitation or superstition, the floors of the houses, in many places, are kept moist with a solution of cow-dung and water.[6] The Mandingos have houses whose roofs project over the walls and rest upon outer supports, thus making a little gallery around the building to protect the inmates from

[1] P. 22.
[2] P. 35. This statement was made in 1807.
[3] Barth, Vol. 2, p. 146.
[4] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 34.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 308.
[6] Lander, pp. 270, 271; Binger, Vol. 1, pp. 361, 366; Park, p. 100.

the heat and glare of the sun,—a style which was probably borrowed from the Portuguese.[1] The furniture consists of straw beds,[2] mats, chairs, stools, skins, iron lamps, etc.[3] Some of the palaces and mosques of Hausaland are built of stone, and have turrets and projecting windows in imitation of the picturesque architecture of the Moors.[4] Many villages have public rest houses where the people sit during the heat of the day.

Men Help to Support the Family.—The burden of supporting the family rests mostly upon the women, although not to the same extent as in the banana zone. In the Mandingo country, each wife lives and cooks in a separate hut and gives a part of her food to her husband.[5] A Kruman, although celebrated all over Africa for his enterprise, will cease work after he has accumulated a sufficient number of wives to support him for the remainder of his days.[6] Lander says that as a rule elderly men perform no manner of work, but live at the expense of their children and grandchildren, and lounge away their existence under the trees.[7] In Yoruba the husbands and wives have separate houses and separate property. Every woman is a free dealer who labors for herself, and has neither claim on her husband's property nor share in his earnings for the support of herself and children.[8] The women are the field workers and traders, and all of the wives except the first are known as "trade-wives," or "wives of commerce."[9] Men not only contribute nothing to the support of their wives but sometimes steal what they have accumulated. Lander relates the case of a man from Borgu who, after stealing 400 cowries from his wife,

[1] Adanson, p. 162; Clapperton, "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 39.
[2] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 281. [3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 183; Bowen, p. 299.
[4] Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 90; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 309.
[5] Lasnet, p. 91. [6] Bowen, p. 38; *Journal of an African Cruiser*, p. 17.
[7] Vol. 1, p. 341. [8] Bowen, p. 305.
[9] Campbell, p. 60; Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 183.

beat her severely because she railed against him for it.[1] In Ilorin where the wives of the king do not labor for his support but are supported by him, they are not permitted to go at large.[2]

In districts farther from the coast, men generally show more consideration for their wives, and in some communities never impose heavy work upon them. For example, the Shulis and Madis are distinguished for their regard for their wives who are generally exempt from field work, and occupy themselves almost exclusively with affairs of the household.[3] In many districts the men perform a liberal share of the work,[4] assisting the women in cultivating the fields and in carrying loads. Binger observed in a western district that, when parties were traveling with goods on their heads, the men who reached a village first would return to take the burdens from the women. He observed also that the men instead of women go out to cut and gather wood.[5] In the rural settlements of Hausaland the husband and wife live and eat in the same house,[6] and the hard field work falls mostly upon slaves and not upon married women.[7]

Family Affection.—Any particular instances of real affection between husband and wife are hard to find, but it is legitimate to infer from the less amount of work imposed upon women and greater respect for them that they are more genuinely loved. Although the rules of etiquette in some localities do not permit the men to eat with their wives,[8] the latter do not so often prostrate themselves in the presence of their husbands.

Instances of the separation of wives from their husbands on account of cruelty are not numerous, but sometimes, as for example among the Krumen, it happens that

[1] Vol. 1, p. 377. [2] Campbell, p. 60.
[3] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 40; Reclus, Vol. 1, p. 99.
[4] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 162. [5] Vol. 1, p. 557. [6] Staudinger, p. 561.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 562. [8] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," pp. 40, 181.

wives run away when their husbands become old and senile.[1]

The ties between parents and children are somewhat stronger in this zone, owing to the greater sacrifices necessary to support children, the longer period of contact between children and their parents, and the more stable and sedentary life. Some evidence of motherly affection is shown in the peculiar custom of the Egga women in wearing upon their heads little wooden figures as symbols of sorrow over their lost children. Whenever they eat they offer a bit of their food to the lips of these dumb memorials. This custom probably arose from the notion that, in case of the death of a twin-child, the mother must wear an image for its deceased spirit to dwell in so that it may not molest the child that survives.[2] Among the Madis, from time to time, when all of the family are assembled, including the grandchildren, the father commemorates the dead and inculcates family duties.[3]

Matriarchate and Inheritance in the Female Line.—Usually in this zone children are named after the mother and belong to her,[4] except in Yoruba where blood relationship is traced on both sides,[5] and where in case of the death of a husband his property is divided among his sons, and where if the wife dies her property is divided among her daughters. If a father has no sons his property goes to his brothers, and if no brothers then to his sisters.[6] Along with the other property, the eldest son usually inherits the wives of his deceased father,[7] and this is also the case among some of the Mandingos.[8] Elsewhere, the first inheritors are the nieces and nephews of the deceased.[9]

[1] *Journal of an African Cruiser*, p. 19.
[2] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 80.
[3] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 42. [4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 334.
[5] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 176. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 177.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 185; Bowen, p. 305. [8] Lasnet, p. 91. [9] Hovelacque, p. 317.

CHAPTER X

FAMILY LIFE IN THE CATTLE ZONE

Women Bought by Means of Cattle.—Family life in this zone represents on all accounts a still higher stage of development. Capital is more necessary to existence and man must possess it to some extent before he can marry. He must have cattle, sheep, goats, implements for agriculture, and in some places, must build a house.[1] Girls are not superabundant in the matrimonial market for the reason that they are very valuable to their parents in the productive activities connected with cattle raising, agriculture, trade and manufacturing.[2] Sometimes as much as a hundred head of cattle are given for a girl of a good family.[3] Among the Shillooks and Baris the price varies from ten to fifty cows.[4] The Jolofs pay in addition to cattle, some gold, silver, clothing or other valuables.[5] A Dinka wife costs about twenty cows and one bull.[6] Among the Kanuris, the parents do not always sell their children but in many cases give them the liberty of accepting or rejecting any young man that may court them. The suitor usually makes his proposal in the presence of the girl and confesses his love for her.[7] Here for the first time among the Nigritians there is a manifestation of romantic love such as exists in civilized societies. Here the suitor does not say "I want" but "I love."

Provided With a Dowry.—Among the Senaarians the girls are sold to the highest bidder, but a part of the proceeds becomes the bride's dowry.[8] The Fellatah women are

[1] Featherman, p. 34.
[2] Baker, Vol. I, p. 219.
[3] Featherman, p. 34.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 74.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 357.
[6] Preville, p. 251.
[7] Featherman, p. 278.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 790.

usually consulted and make their own selection in the matter of marriage, instead of being sold by their parents for so many head of cattle, so many iron spades or so many cowries, and they are provided with a dowry of slaves and cattle which remains their individual property in case of the death of husband or divorce from him. The bridegroom usually makes some presents of slaves and oxen to the bride's parents or relatives, but the dowry furnished by the bride's parents is often three times more valuable than the presents of the groom. In case a poor man sues for the hand of a girl, he is sometimes required to work a certain period of time for her as Jacob did for Rachel.[1]

High Price of Women Leads to Illicit Unions.—As men must have capital to obtain their wives, the age of marriage is not so early as in the zones already discussed.[2] Girls seldom marry before the age of sixteen.[3] One of the consequences of the high price of wives is that the men resort to filibustering expeditions for the purpose of stealing the women of their neighbors. Another consequence is that men are tempted to enter into forbidden relations with unmarried women, giving rise to many illegitimate children.[4] Whenever continence of the passions begins to be practiced by any race, there are always many individuals who are not able to submit to its discipline, whereas, among a people who have no capital there is generally no sexual restraint.

Chastity Varies in the Different Localities.—Notwithstanding the restraints imposed by economic considerations, the ideas about chastity are very loose in some localities of this zone.[5] On the other hand, among the Dinkas sexual morality is, in one respect at least, higher than among some civilized people. It is their custom for the father of an illegitimate child to pay to the mother four head of cattle,

[1] Featherman, p. 373. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 277; "Denham's Narrative," p. 243.
[3] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 8. [4] Featherman, p. 34.
[5] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 342; Featherman, pp. 733, 735, 791.

thus providing subsistence for the child and at the same time giving it legitimate status.[1] The practice among the French of betraying women and leaving them moral and financial wrecks, without any legal recourse, is not one of the glories of their civilization, to say nothing of the fact that their asylums and hospitals overflow with the outcast and illegitimate brood of children. The poor Dinkas may have no Jean Valjean but they have also no Fantine to part with her hair and teeth to save her Cozette. Among the Kanuris, although sexual morality is somewhat lax, "the great majority of married women are faithful, and adultery is by no means common."[2] In Darfur among the mountain people no marriage is legal until the couple have lived together two or three years. During this trial period the couple reside in the home of the bride's parents.[3] The Fellatah women, as a rule, are of rather easy virtue, although much more chaste than the pure Negro women. Staudinger says that some of the Fellatah women are of the strictest virtue.[4]

Mohammedan Polygamy.—Polygamy prevails to the extent that men are able to buy wives, but four is the limit among the adherents of Mohammedanism, and lack of capital often reduces the number to one. Only rich people and princes have several wives.[5] The wife of a Latuka chief asked Baker how many wives he had and was astonished to hear that he was satisfied with one. The idea amused her immensely and she and her daughter laughed at it heartily.[6] In some cases the status of a polygamous family is in a certain sense monogamous, in that all of the wives but one are considered as concubines.[7] The women in some of the Fellatah tribes are very spirited and independent, and rarely permit a second spouse to enter their homes.[8]

[1] Featherman, p. 34. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 277. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 735, 736.
[4] P. 560. [5] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 8. [6] Vol. 1, p. 217.
[7] Featherman, p. 357. [8] Lasnet, p. 52.

Intermarriage of Nigritians and Fellatahs.—The mixture of Fellatahs with Nigritians has been brought about principally through the marriage of Fellatah men to Nigritian women or through Nigritian concubines. The Fellatah women are decidedly averse to marriage with black men and also Fellatah men discountenance such unions.[1] Originally when they lived in the desert as a pure Berber race their prejudice against intermarriage with the Negroes was even much greater than it is now. The Berber women, though living amongst Negro slaves in the desert oases, do not marry with them nor permit their husbands to take them as concubines. On this account the Berber race has been kept much freer from the taint of black blood than the Semitic race in Arabia[2].

Family Dwellings.—The dwellings of the people of this zone vary from the humble mud hut to homes of somewhat palatial pretensions. "In the large towns," says Featherman, "the houses of the better class Fellatahs are built in the moorish style of clay or of woodwork covered with a coating of clay. The apartments which are partly sleeping places and partly storerooms, are entered by an interior gallery that runs around the building. Each dwelling is surrounded by a high wall, which encloses numerous flat-roofed houses and low huts. The miserable hovels of the lower classes are simply composed of poles frequently provided with sorghum stalks in place of rafters, with the roof and side-walls covered with matting made of millet stems." [3] The mushroom-like huts of the Shillooks are made of reeds plastered with clay and surmounted with a thatched conical roof.[4] The Kanuris have huts built in a variety of styles, some of straw, some of clay or mud, and some of a framework covered with mats, woven grass or reeds.[5] The roofs

[1] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 2, p. 106; Hovelacque, p. 254. [2] Preville, p. 35.
[3] P. 382. [4] Featherman, p. 63; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 34.
[5] Wood, p. 697; Featherman, p. 271.

are usually conical as those of the Shillooks. In many places during the summer time the outer walls of the huts are enwreathed with the green foliage of melon and pumpkin vines. In the large cities the houses are more substantial, and spacious, each being divided into apartments enclosed by a stuccoed mud-wall, and surmounted by a tastefully arched roof which is thatched with straw. Some of them have castellated windows projecting over the streets.[1] The huts of the Jolofs are sometimes made of clay, and again of a frame of sticks covered with woven reeds, surmounted with a conical roof, thatched with straw or palm branches. They are circular in form and resemble beehives.[2] The houses in this zone are not only better upon the average than those of the millet zone but are kept cleaner. The Kanuris, like civilized people, sweep the floors of their houses every morning.[3]

Men Help to Support the Family.—In this zone the men for the most part support their families for it is they who own the capital necessary to existence. They generally assist in the field work, and in some tribes they alone attend to the cattle.[4]

Women Enjoy Considerable Liberty.—Women are generally better treated and have more rights than the women of the lower zones. "The Fellatah women," says Featherman, "enjoy much greater liberty than their sisters of other Mohammedan nations."[5] Among the rich, each wife is the owner of a piece of land and has her slaves to cultivate it. She gathers her own harvest and enjoys the produce stored up to relieve if necessary the wants of her husband or lover.[6] Indeed, the status of the Fellatah women is strikingly similar to that of the Berber or Tuareg women of the desert. The Kanuri women, we are told, exact fidelity

[1] Featherman, p. 271. [2] Du Chaillu, p. 187. [3] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 339.
[4] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 334. [5] P. 386.
[6] Featherman, p. 372.

from their husbands and have the right of divorce if their husbands are unfaithful.[1] However, they are humble and submissive and never approach their lord except on their knees and never speak to any man except with veiled faces.[2]

Family Affection.—The devotion shown among members of the same family is much more marked here than in any of the other zones. The Dinkas, it is said, "render all possible assistance to those to whom they are bound by ties of kinship, nor do they ever abandon their children."[3] Relating an instance of the affection of a father for his son, Schweinfurth said, that in 1871 a Dinka man "who had been one of the bearers who had carried my stores from the Meshera, was about to return to his own home in the territory of Ghattas, but he had been attacked by the guinea-worm, and his feet were so swollen that it was with the utmost difficulty that he could proceed a step, and he was obliged to remain behind alone. Everything was necessarily scarce and dear, and he was glad to subsist upon a few handfuls of durra and on what scraps we gave him from our meals: in this way he dragged on, and with a little patience would have been all right. However, he was not suffered to wait long: his father appeared to fetch him. This old man had brought neither cart nor donkey, but he set out and carried away the great strapping fellow, who was six feet high, for a distance of fifteen or sixteen leagues, on his shoulders. The incident was regarded by the other natives as a mere matter of course."[4]

Inheritance.—The laws of inheritance in this zone are not everywhere the same. Among the Fellatahs the husband and wife have their individual property which usually descends to the nearest kin on their mother's side. The same rule seems to hold among the Jolofs, with this difference that when one brother inherits from another the surviving widows

[1] Featherman, p. 278. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 277. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[4] Vol. 1, p. 170.

and concubines are taken over with the other property.[1] In the Dinka societies property is divided among the husband's surviving children, and if he have none, it goes to the nearest male relative who also takes the widow. In case the widow then bears children they receive the property of her deceased husband when they are of age. If the deceased father's children are minors, the nearest relative acts as administrator. In any case the administrator or inheriting son must support all of the females of the family.[2]

[1] Featherman, p. 358.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

CHAPTER XI

FAMILY LIFE IN THE CAMEL ZONE

Few Men Able to Support More Than One Wife: Women Independent.—Information in regard to the family life of the Tibbus is very meagre, and it is impossible to say how far it is above or below the standard of the other zones. Marriages are contracted at an early age. Polygamy is exceptional, because, in the first place, few men are able to support more than one wife, and because, in the second place, the women are too independent to tolerate plurality of wives. In fact the women are the mistresses of the households and have a way of domineering over their husbands.[1] They are distinguished for the domestic virtues of order, cleanliness, good management and fidelity. Marriage is preceded by an engagement which is held as binding as the marriage itself. Upon the death of a husband, his wife is united to his brother or nearest male relative.[2]

The houses of the sedentary part of the population are made of stone and clay, but the nomad part of the population live in leather or mat tents. The slaves live in hastily constructed huts of grass and brushwood.[3]

As a rule the Tuareg and other women of the desert enjoy exceptional independence, especially in reference to property, and we may infer the same for the Tibbu women.

General Considerations.—As far as the foregoing facts throw any light upon the evolution of the family, they discredit the theory of M'Lennan, Morgan, Gumplowicz, Barth and others, of an evolution from promiscuity, through the

[1] Featherman, p. 754. [2] Reclus, Vol. 3, pp. 424, 433.
[3] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 266, 269.

two stages of polyandry (one where the husbands of the wife are unrelated and the other where they are brothers), then through polygamy to the final stage of monogamy. There is no evidence of a state of promiscuity and the facts seem to indicate that polyandry and polygamy are due to economic conditions peculiar to certain localities and are not at all stages through which the whole human race has passed.

The transition from the matriarchate to the patriarchate does not seem to have any connection with wife capture, as Gumplowicz supposes,[1] since the matriarchate persists in all of the zones of the Sudan, notwithstanding an incessant stealing of women. The transition to the patriarchate, however, wherever it has happened, appears to have been effected through the influences of the pastoral life or of ancestor worship. In the pastoral life the protection of the cattle and pastures devolves upon the men, and it is natural that they should consider the cattle as their exclusive property. There is no need for members of the same family to have separate holdings, or that the cattle be parceled out upon the death of the father or patriarch, since there are cattle enough and pastures enough for everybody without separating the herds and scattering the related members of a group. It is to be borne in mind, however, that among sedentary pastoral people, as the Dinkas, where the land is overflowing with population, the father has not big enough pasture nor cattle enough to support a very large family, and hence it is to his interest to encourage the division of the family by dividing the property. Finally as neither women nor children can exist without cattle, it is natural that women should be considered by the men as their absolute property, and that they should therefore take the name of their father.

Ancestor worship furnishes a motive for preferring sons to keep up the sacrifices at the ancestoral tomb.[2] For

[1] Pp. 112, 113.

[2] Spencer, Vol. 1, p. 770.

example in Dahomi where ancestor worship exists there is a transition from the matriarchate to the patriarchate.

War as a motive for preferring sons and as a factor of the transition to the patriarchate is of no discernible account in Africa where perpetual intertribal warfare is carried on among matriarchal groups. The patriarchate everywhere seems to have originated among pastoral people or among people who have pastoral traditions.

The passing away of the totem does not apparently depend, as Barth thinks,[1] upon the change from the matriarchate to the patriarchate; since the totem has fallen into disuse in a great part of Africa where the matriarchate still survives, while among some tribes, as the Pygmies, the use of the totem seems to have been unknown.

[1] Paul Barth, p. 380.

CHAPTER XII

POLITICAL LIFE IN THE BANANA ZONE

The Ancient and Modern Kingdoms.—The early African explorers reported the existence of several great kingdoms which have continued to exist down to the present time, for example, Bornu, Benin, Agades and Kano,[1] while accounts were given of other kingdoms which seem to have passed away and whose localities were but vaguely defined, for example, Ghana (probably located on the middle Niger,) Guinee (somewhere between Sierra Leone and Cape Lopez), Melle (on the Upper Niger), and Zenega or kingdom of the Jolofs (somewhere between the Senegal and the Gambia).[2]

"The history of Ghana and of the Empire of Melle which superseded it," says Lady Lugard, "constitute the two first chapters of the native history of Negroland. Melle, which extended at one period of its history over the territory of Ghana and also over the Bend of the Niger, gives way in its turn to the extraordinarily interesting history of Songhay —an empire which from the middle of the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth centuries extended over the entire Bend of the Niger and even carried its dominion for a time to the Atlantic on one side and to Lake Chad upon the other. Contemporaneously with the rise of Melle and Songhay, the Haussa States and Bornu rose to prosperity between the Niger and Lake Chad, while the native States of Nupe, Borgu, Mossi, and some others, appear to have maintained an independent existence from a period of considerable antiquity upon the Niger." [3] Any attempt to describe the op-

[1] Ogilby, pp. 325, 326, 329, 472.

[2] Ogilby, pp. 319–321, 322, 345; Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 259.

[3] P. 82.

erations and general character of the earliest mentioned kingdoms would be out of the question and the writer therefore will limit his discussion of the kingdoms to those which are more familiarly known and which ran their course from the fifteenth century to the time of their recent overthrow by the Powers of Europe. In the banana zone the most important kingdoms of the period were Ashanti, Fanti, Dahomi, Benin, Ibo and Bonny. The Ashanti kingdom was shorn of its power by the British in the war of 1873–4, and it, together with the kingdoms of Fanti, Benin, Ibo and Bonny, are now under the British Protectorate and form a part of the country known as Southern Nigeria.[1] The Dahomi kingdom was overthrown by the French in 1893.

Integrating Factors of the Different Kingdoms. (*a*) *Influence of Natural Resources.*—The density of population in the several kingdoms depends primarily upon the natural resources. The people have a tendency to congest in localities wherever the vegetable and animal products supply an abundance of food. In this zone the food resources are most abundant along the water courses and in the somewhat open region of the interior where the banana and plantain trees have an opportunity to thrive. In the dense forest regions the animals and plants available for food are scarce, and therefore the groups are small and scattered. The banana zone is upon the whole remarkably rich in resources and everywhere supports an immense population.

(*b*) *Invasion of Foreign Peoples.*—Political organizations arise primarily for defensive purposes. As there is always a tendency for population to press in from all sides towards the rich food centres, those in possession of the territory find it necessary to coöperate to keep the intruders out. In the case of the banana zone, on account of the wealth of its fruits, the people were subject to frequent invasions from the hordes of the millet zone to the north. While the thickness

[1] Stanford, Vol. 1, pp. 249, 379.

of the forest offered some obstacles to invasion, it was not altogether sufficient.[1]

(*c*) *Motives and Facility for Defense.*—Along the northern borders of the banana zone, therefore, the people were obliged to combine in largest numbers for defense, and there the larger political groups came into being.[2] The relative thinness of the forest along this border of the zone made cooperation easy. This was a region of intense and eternal conflict. Instead of exploiting nature, men exploited each other, and on that account all of the States were organized upon a military basis. Along the southern border of this zone there was not so much danger of invasion, for the reason that the thickness of the forest acted as a natural barrier. The conditions there did not call for defensive cooperation on any large scale and hence no large political groups were effected. Furthermore, if the people had been ever so much subjected to invasion they could not have easily coöperated on account of the innumerable rivers, lakes, lagoons and impenetrable forests. Instead of coöperating they generally remained hostile to each other. Lander states that within the period of only three years as many as 160 governors of towns and villages between Etcho and the coast had died or were killed. This indicates the extent of local wars and intestine broils.[3] It is not surprising, therefore, that Miss Kingsley should have remarked that the life of the West African chief had about ninety-nine and nine-tenths thorns in it.[4]

(*d*) *Motives for Aggression.*—Whenever and wherever a political organization is effected for defensive purposes there are always motives at work tending to make it aggressive. In the banana zone the motives for aggression were numerous. First was the desire to steal each other's property. The fact that many scattered populations prac-

[1] Preville, p. 218.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 221.
[3] Vol. I, p. 160.
[4] "Travels in West Africa," p. 340.

ticed agriculture, kept stores of provisions, and had among their effects such articles as gold, ivory, etc., furnished a powerful stimulus to man's acquisitive instinct.[1] Another motive was the desire to obtain slaves, both for domestic use and for sale to the agricultural peoples of the north, and at one time to sell to the European and American slave-traders. Still another motive was the desire to obtain victims for the sacrifices to their gods and to their superstitious customs and rites. These motives were sufficient to keep any group on the aggressive and to cause it to extend its area of conquest as far as possible. Both defensive and aggressive motives caused continual war against the invaders from the north, with the result that a strip of country separating the banana and millet zones was kept devastated and almost depopulated. As indicating the destructive nature of this warfare it will suffice to quote the statement of Duncan, that, at the time of his visit in Dahomi, the king of that empire had captured 126 towns lying to the north in the Mahi country.[2]

Among the smaller groups the same motives prevailed, particularly the desire for slaves. The effect was to make each group hostile to every other. Allen and Thomson reported that along the Niger "every man's hand was raised against his fellow and every one tried to enslave his neighbor."[3]

Aggressive Power of Dahomi—History of the Expansive Movement.—The history of Dahomi before the sixteenth century is unknown. When Europeans first visited the Gold Coast, there was already in existence the extensive Kingdom of Ardrah. "About the beginning of the seventeenth century the state became dismembered on the death

[1] Hawkins, p. 92.

[2] Vol. 1, p. 246. Ellis says that 126 was the number captured up to 1839, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 311.

[3] Vol. 1, p. 398.

of a reigning sovereign and three separate kingdoms were constituted under his three sons. One state was formed by one brother around the old capital of Alladá and retained the name of Ardrah; another brother migrated to the coast and formed a state also called Ardrah, but now known under the name of Porto Novo; while the third brother traveled northwards and after some vicissitudes established the kingdom of Dahomi. The western Ardrah or Alladá, appears to have been subsequently further subdivided by the formation of the separate kingdom of Whydah to the south. About 1724–28 Dahomi, having become a powerful state, invaded and conquered successively Alladá and Whydah." This era of conquest continued up to the accession, in 1818, of Gezo, "who reigned forty years and raised the power of Dahomi to its highest pitch. He boasted of having first organized the Amazons to which force he attributed his success." [1]

These facts strongly point to the conclusion that the influence of the slave trade was favorable to the development of the kind of government which Dahomi represented, since the era of expansion of the government was cotemporaneous with the era of expansion of the slave trade.

(*a*) *Influence of Natural Boundaries as a Factor of Expansion.*—The aggressive power of a state depends upon (*a*) the natural boundaries of the country, (*b*) the size of the population, (*c*) the economic resources, (*d*) the ability of the people to coöperate, (*e*) the strength and efficiency of the military system, and (*f*) the power of resistance of border states. All of these factors combined to make Dahomi the most powerful state of this zone. While its expansion to the east and west was impeded on account of the great number of rivers running from north to south, there were no obstacles to the north, and scarcely any in the south, except near the coast where the numerous swamps and lagoons

[1] "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. 6, p. 766.

gave a certain security to the population of that region,[1] and permitted the empire to obtain a footing only at a few of the seaboard towns.

(*b*) *Size of the Population.*—A fact highly favorable to expansion was the density of the Dahoman population which enabled the amassing of a large fighting force. At one time the State could easily muster 50,000 men.[2]

(*c*) *Economic Resources.*—The inexhaustible supply of food enabled the people to keep an army in the field for an indefinite period, and the institution of slavery enabled all of the freemen to devote themselves to fighting. The munitions for the army were obtained by selling a part of the war-captives. In fact, for a long time the Dahoman kingdom was maintained almost altogether from the sale of slaves taken in war. Ellis described the kingdom as an association of banditti who captured slaves for trade and for sacrifices to their superstitious customs.[3] While slave hunting already existed as a motive for aggression, the new demand for slaves created by the arrival of the European and American bidders, made the business enormously profitable. It not only became a great source of revenue to the State, but was the chief basis of the power of the king and of all of his subordinates. The Dahomans had a regular season for slave hunting. When the winter set in and their own supply of provisions began to fall short, they laid aside all business and took up the weapons still stained with the blood of the last year's campaign. For three months the towns would be almost abandoned.[4] But the abolition of the slave trade precipitated the downfall of the great kingdom by cutting off its revenue, without which a large army could not be equipped. When it became necessary to support the State

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 196; Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 268; Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 166.

[2] Forbes, Vol. 1, p. 14.

[3] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 197.

[4] Foa, p. 254.

by other means than the slave trade the citizens had to work ten times harder "to give food to the monarch." [1]

(*d*) *Ability to Coöperate.*—The forest in this region, though pretty dense was sufficiently open to permit coöperation over a wide area.[2] The people, however, had only sufficient intelligence to coöperate for the purpose of plunder. They had not the wisdom to organize and govern the conquered territory, but were satisfied to ravage, gather up the booty and return home, leaving the invaded country in hostile hands.[3] The aim was only to lay waste and kill, and for this reason the expansion of the empire was generally followed by a decrease of population.[4] Men fought only for individual gain or for mere love of adventure. They felt no conscious interest in the glory of the nation or the welfare of the people; and on account of this lack of national sentiment the Dahomans were never able to occupy even the area which their natural boundaries seemed to indicate for them.

(*e*) *Military Strength.*—The army consisted of several divisions. First the Amazons or female soldiers numbering about 3,000.[5] It was claimed that the women were better suited for soldiers than the men because they were accustomed to enduring more hardships and were much braver.[6] The second division consisted of the palace guards and men of the capital. This division together with the first formed the standing army. The third division comprised the entire male population.[7]

The weapons used were spears, knives and after the advent of the European, also muskets. All of the Amazons or king's wives wore daggers.[8] Each local caboceer or chief had an army of his own [9] which answered the call of the

[1] Foa, p. 208. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 57; Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," pp. 2–3.
[3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 197. [4] Wood, p. 638.
[5] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 187. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 183. [8] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 254. [9] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 283.

king in time of war. The commander of the whole army was appointed by the king and followed in the wake of the march riding a horse when he happened to possess this rare animal, while the subordinate officers rode in hammocks carried by soldiers or slaves.[1] The army moved in a helter-skelter fashion, the only tactics or strategy consisting in an effort to surprise and surround the enemy. The regular standing army received a supply of powder and lead from the king and chiefs, but each soldier was required to feed himself.[2] The king offered special rewards and honors to soldiers who brought home the heads of captives, while the only pay for the ordinary soldiers consisted of cowries and other articles of value which the king threw upon the ground for them to scramble for on days of public celebrations.[3] The army was chiefly provisioned by plundering as it went. However, the wives of the soldiers followed the army carrying calabashes of food and drink on their heads and acting as a sort of commissariat.

(*f*) *Resistance of Border States.*—But whatever may be the military equipment or other favorable conditions, the expansion of a State is always dependent upon the power of the border States to offer resistance. In the case of Dahomi while the path of expansion to the west was politically unopposed, that to the east was checked by the more powerful Yorubas, who were never successfully attacked until they had been overrun and disorganized between 1810 and 1840 by the pressure of the Hausas invading from the north.[4] A great element of strength to the Yoruba forces was the use of cavalry, while a source of weakness to the Dahomans was perhaps the too free use of criminals as soldiers.[5]

[1] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 230. [2] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 162.
[3] Forbes, Vol. 1, pp. 21, 22.
[4] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," pp. 219, 295, 309.
[5] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 141.

Aggressive Power of Ashanti—History of the Expansive Movement.—The Ashanti government has had a history similar to that of Dahomi. According to traditions it derived its origin "from bands of fugitives, who, two or three centuries ago, were driven before the Moslem tribes migrating southward from countries on the Niger and Senegal. Having cleared for themselves a region of impenetrable forest, they defended themselves with a vigor which, becoming a part of their national character, raised them to the rank of a powerful and conquering nation. . . . Early in the eighteenth century the Ashantis first came under the notice of the Europeans, through the successful wars with the Kingdoms bordering on the maritime territory. Osai Tutu may be considered as the real founder of the Ashanti power. He either built or greatly extended Coomassie, the capital; he subdued the neighboring state of Denkera (1719) and the Mahometan countries of Gaman and Banna and extended the empire by conquests both on the east and west."[1] Thus it is apparent that the era of expansion of the Ashanti empire, as that also of Dahomi, was cotemporaneous with the era of expansion of the slave trade.

(*a*) *Influence of Natural Boundaries as a Factor of Expansion.*—The Ashantis were somewhat less able to expand than the Dahomans. In the first place their territory was more naturally defined by the seacoast and rivers. The Gulf on the south, the Volta on the east, the Comoe on the west, and the branches of both rivers on the north, enclosed the Ashantis within a circle and indicated the natural limits of their empire.

(*b*) *Size of the Population.*—The population was smaller and more scattered by reason of the ramified water courses, more irregular contour of the land and greater area of forest.

[1] "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. 2, p. 681.

(*c*) *Economic Resources.*—The economic resources were quite equal to those of Dahomi except that the income from the sale of slaves was never as large. The difficulties of getting around and across the natural barriers had a tendency to contract the national frontiers. However, at the time of the slave trade with Europeans the impulse to expansion caused the Ashantis to press out in all directions, particularly towards the coast, butchering people by the thousands and dragging them into slavery.[1]

(*d*) *Ability to Coöperate.*—The Ashanti population consisted of small groups living in scattered villages in the forest, and hence the facilities for concentration of power were not so untrammeled as in Dahomi. Each village had its own military company[2] which tended to keep the blood of the nation in the extremities.

(*e*) *Military Strength.*—The army was made up of brave formidable warriors[3] and in time of war each chief took the field in person with his own contingent[4] while the commander of the aggregation followed in the rear accompanied by his guard, who urged forward the soldiers by liberally using their swords and cutting down every man that broke the ranks. Before starting on a campaign the women performed a war dance in which only those took part who had husbands in the army. The food of the soldiers consisted principally of meal, which each man carried in a bag, and which was made ready to eat by simply mixing it with water. The King's interpreter accompanied the army and conducted all of the negotiations. The common soldiers were armed with muskets, knives, daggers, and bows and arrows.[5] The army was enlivened with musical bands and preceded by military banners.[6]

(*f*) *Resistance of Border States.*—The most powerful

[1] Brackenbury, p. 7.
[2] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 273.
[3] Stanley, "Coomassie," p. 66.
[4] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 273.
[5] Wood, p. 626.
[6] Featherman, p. 188.

neighbor of Ashanti was Dahomi, but the two kingdoms were far enough apart to avoid serious conflicts. Neither the one nor the other could permanently hold conquered territory because of the inability to organize and govern it.

Aggressive Power of the Smaller States.—The small kingdoms of Fanti, Benin and Ibo were never of much consequence. The Fantis on the coast never had sufficient population in their little water bound empire to permit of much expansion. They were less courageous and less intelligent than the people of the interior and were unable to resist the occasional encroachments of the Ashantis.

The Benin and Ibo kingdoms had their limitations to expansion set by the difficulties of coöperating and conducting campaigns in the intricacies of the forests, swamps and rivers. For the same reason multitudes of still smaller kingdoms in the Delta region and elsewhere were confined to narrow limits. The smaller kingdoms did not rely so much upon police and soldiers for defensive purposes as upon magic. For example, the Bonny people sometimes planted a live woman in the ground just outside the town limits, plastered her over with clay until she died, and there left her as a fetich to ward off the attack of enemies.[1]

[1] Wood, p. 676.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL LIFE IN THE BANANA ZONE (*Continued*)

Political Organization of Dahomi—Differentiating Factors.—Any kingdom that comes into being and survives for any length of time, will necessarily begin to elaborate and specialize its industrial, social and political life. This is what Spencer calls differentiation. It is first noticed in the economic life by a separation of the people into the conquerors and the conquered or noble and slave class. Under the direction of the nobles the slaves are set to work at various occupations, some to till the soil, some to trade and some to manufacture. Thus there arises specialization of occupations. As the kingdom grows in population and wealth, there begins a differentiation of the political life. The king chosen by the nobles organizes his rule, forms a council and recognizes certain castes or classes on the basis of their wealth and power. The inequality in the distribution of wealth brings about a corresponding inequality in the distribution of power.[1] Those who have the wealth and power seek by all possible means to maintain their prestige, and there develops almost spontaneously a system of control adapted to keeping the lower classes in a condition of subordination.

The Form of the Government.—The form of the government, whether absolute, aristocratic, representative or more or less democratic, depends upon the physical character of the country, the extent of warfare, and the economic and moral status of the people.

(*a*) *Facility for Communication as a Factor.*—In Dahomi the absence of impenetrable forests or obstructing water courses, favored the development of a political system

[1] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 73.

that could easily communicate with its parts and become centralized.

(*b*) *Distribution of Wealth.*—If wealth is somewhat equally distributed, *i. e.*, if all men are free and have more or less property or a right to the use of the natural resources, the tendency will be, other factors mentioned below not overbearing, away from absolutism and towards democracy, but on the other hand, if wealth is in the hands of a few, if there is a large property class and a large slave or dependent class, the tendency will be towards the aristocratic or oligarchic form of government, and if one man or a very narrow circle of men own an exceptional share of the wealth of the country, the tendency will be towards absolutism. In Dahomi the wealth consisted mostly of slaves and proprietorship of territory, and it was concentrated in the hands of a small number of men, the king and his chiefs being relatively far above the commonalty in worldly possessions. Hence, the conditions here favored absolutism. However, the reader is asked to remember that while absolutism is the opposite of democracy in so far as concentration of power is concerned, it is not always unfavorable to the development of a democratic spirit and tendency among the people. A pure despotism often kindles democratic sentiment and hastens the transition to democratic institutions, because the commonalty are at such an immeasurable distance below the monarch that the distinctions between man and man fade into insignificance. If despotism had not this effect in Dahomi it was because the climatic conditions failed to awaken in the people those aspirations and jealousies which are essential to democratic ideas and institutions.

(*c*) *Character and Intelligence of the People.*—If the people are indolent, careless, deficient in spirit and initiative, or if they are overcome with superstitious terrors, they will incline to submit to the most tyrannical form of government. In the case of Dahomi the country was naturally so produc-

tive that the people did not need to develop any enterprise, energy or spirit, and they were therefore fit subjects for a tyrant. Montesquieu once observed that very productive soils were everywhere favorable to monarchy, and poor soils to democracy. The barrenness of the Attic soil, he said, established there a democracy, while the fertility of the Lacedæmonian soil established there an aristocratic government.[1]

(*d*) *Extent of Warfare.*—But no matter how many other influences may favor democracy, if the life of the nation demands constant warfare, the tendency towards despotism will be great enough sometimes to overbear all other factors. In Dahomi the conditions already mentioned brought about frequent collisions with the surrounding populations and gave to the State a decided military stamp. The necessity for defensive warfare compelled all subjects to yield to a central military chief and this conduced to absolutism. The chief, after having become once intrenched in office, endeavored in all conceivable ways to extend his authority. He not only loved power and the emoluments thereof, but believed that the interests of the State required concentration of power in his hands. All of the factors bearing upon the result seemed to conspire to develop the despotic form of government. Not only the military exigencies, says Ellis, but the lack of energy of the people and their great indolence made them easily submit to the despotism of kings, chiefs and priests.[2] The king, says Ratzel, had almost absolute power[3] and next in point of authority, but very abject, were his councilmen who were obliged to prostrate themselves and kiss the ground when they approached the royal presence.[4]

System of Government. (*a*) *Legislation.*—Legislation

[1] Vol. 1, p. 400.
[2] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 10.
[3] "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 141.
[4] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 221; Featherman, p. 209.

was vested in the king who was influenced perhaps to some extent by the local chiefs.

(*b*) *Council and Executive Officers.*—Among the central administrative officers of the government was a chief adviser, *Megan*, the only officer whose head the king could not strike off at will. His duty was to execute the king's decrees, and he was popularly known as "The Man Killer."[1] The next most important officer was *Mehu*, the master of ceremonies. Numerous other functionaries of less importance made up the council. The local administrators were the nobles or aristocratic class, composed of the caboceers or chiefs of the towns and cities. They were usually the sons of the king's concubines, and owned large landed estates for which they paid a considerable tribute to the crown. They furnished soldiers for the army and enjoyed the exclusive privilege of trading with Europeans, except in gold, fire-arms and ammunition, which were monopolies of the king.[2] Each chief was king in his district and had his own court. The sub-chiefs in the smaller towns also had jurisdiction and authority in their respective bailiwicks. Any citizen could appeal to the king if he disliked the decision of the local chief.[3] Beneath this aristocratic class stood the freemen and slaves, none of whom had anything to do with the government, or any opportunity or incentive to rise from their obscurity.[4]

The police system consisted of constables appointed by the king, and spies also appointed by him and sent out into all the districts of the empire.[5] Deformed men were preferably chosen for constables.[6] Sometimes palace women were sent out to act in the double rôle of spies for the king and wives to the local chiefs.[7]

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 163.
[2] Featherman, p. 209.
[3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 161.
[4] Foa, p. 186.
[5] Duncan, Vol. 2, p. 35.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 231.
[7] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 176.

(*c*) *Laws, Offenses, Trials and Penalties.*—The laws of the country made no distinction between civil and criminal offenses.[1] A wrong against property or against a person was treated in the same way and by the same court.[2] As indicating the general character of the Dahoman laws, it may be mentioned that a master was always held responsible for the debts or crimes of his slaves.[3] In some localities an entire family was responsible for the debts or crimes of its individual members;[4] and in other localities a whole community was held responsible for the acts of any of its members. Any member of one community could sue and seize for a debt any member of another community in which his debtor lived.[5] Generally if a married woman got into litigation she involved only the family in which she was born, and not at all her husband or his blood kin.[6] In the judicial evolution of societies it seems that communal responsibility came first, family responsibility second, and individual responsibility last.

The trial of cases was conducted by the local chief or one of the king's constables, and if the party concerned did not like the verdict he could appeal to the king.

The penalty for homicide was either death or compensation to the family of the deceased.[7] In case of adultery the man concerned was made to serve in the army as long as he was able, and then was offered as a sacrifice at one of the king's annual customs.[8] However, penalties were not uniform. Any offense was likely to be punished by death, mutilation, slavery, or imprisonment, while people of rank or wealth could always pay indemnity.

The execution of the sentence was carried out by a constable or officer of the local government. The death penalty was usually inflicted by decapitation, but in aggravated

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 223. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 219.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 219. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 208. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 209. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 216.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 224. [8] Duncan, Vol. I, p. 141.

cases was accomplished by impaling, burning, and dismembering the body.[1] Duncan mentions that, in cases of murder or adultery, the offender was sometimes inverted and a red-hot iron run through his body from the rectum.[2] Throughout the kingdom, for minor offenses, the constables inflicted chastisement with a dried bullock's tail.[3] Ellis mentions the use of a whip of hippopotamus hide which drew blood with every lash.[4]

The laws and judicial proceedings of Dahomi, underwent, during the progress of the slave trade, very definite changes. For example, criminal offenses, formerly punished by a fine, whipping or banishment were changed into condemnation into slavery. Life and property became less secure and people were seized and sold for the most trivial offenses. However, a more detailed discussion of questions of this kind is reserved for the second volume which deals exclusively with slavery and the slave trade.

(*d*) *Revenue.*—The revenue of the state consisted of war-booty, sale of slaves,[5] fines, bribes, presents,[6] and tolls. Custom-houses, like the old English toll-gates, were established at intervals along the chief trade routes,[7] where taxes were collected in kind. Every trader was required to have a pass and to give up a part of his merchandise. If he happened to have a chicken in his possession, and it committed the offense of crowing in the presence of the custom officer, it was immediately arrested and forfeited.[8] The custom dues were sometimes bestowed by the king upon his caboceers or court ministers as a reward for military services.[9] The king used to levy duties on all gold, palm-oil, ivory and slaves sent out of his domains. In the palmy days of the slave

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 224. [2] Vol. 2, p. 153.
[3] Duncan, Vol. 2, p. 231. [4] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 223.
[5] Brackenbury, p. 25. [6] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 162.
[7] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 283. [8] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 258.
[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 283.

trade some of the dealers paid the king as much as $2,500 per annum.[1] Also duties were levied on all imports, and on all goods offered for sale on the markets.[2] At Whydah a constable used to go to the market daily and collect taxes from each individual exposing goods for sale. Houses were built for storing the revenue, which was shipped to the king as ordered.[3] A unique source of revenue consisted of sending abroad the king's wives to entice men of wealth into the crime of adultery, thus rendering the men liable to confiscation of their property.[4] The king also had professional burglars whose business it was to break into and steal from European factories, and if caught in the act they were always acquitted.[5]

Elements of Stability. (*a*) *Intelligence and Character of the Rulers and People.*—In moral character the ruling classes were much below the commonalty, and hence were not very inspiring examples. Their dignity prevented them from working [6] and their idleness predisposed them to dissipation. Among the caboceers it was a mark of riches to be able to get drunk once a day.[7] The ruling classes not only set a bad example by their indolence and dissipation but discouraged production by their merciless exactions. Speaking generally, it seems to be a fact that aristocracies in tropical countries always have a tendency to sink below the moral level of the commonalty, whereas those in temperate countries have a tendency to rise above the masses and to lift them to a higher level, in spite of the often stubborn fight of the aristocracies to keep the people down. The chief reason of this phenomenon is that the hotter the climate the more the ruling classes seek to shift all burdens upon the shoulders of others, and the more they become mere

[1] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 123; Forbes, Vol. 1, p. 11.
[2] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 228.
[3] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 124.
[4] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 172.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 173.
[6] Foa, p. 187.
Duncan, Vol. 2, p. 65.

parasites, getting without giving, commanding without bearing the brunt of battle and forgetting that the only durable title to property and power is the ability to serve. "Woe to the man who desires to be a parasite. He will become vermin." The climatic difference explains, at least in part, why the French aristocracy was idle and provoked a revolution, and the English aristocracy by its leadership in industrial lines averted a revolution. In temperate zones the upper classes have a restlessness and energy of mind and body that compel the majority of them to enter into industrial enterprises and ventures, into the professions, into scientific researches, etc., and however cold and distant they may act in reference to the common people, their efforts to satisfy their own ambitions and to occupy a place among the civilized people of the world inevitably lift by degrees the commonalty to their level. The masses of mankind are obliged to have leaders and are naturally inclined to love and worship them. The exalted and joyous life attributed to the aristocratic classes diffuses a contagious happiness among all of the subjects or citizens, occupies in their minds a sort of objective idealism and kindles the spirit of reverence and hero worship. A good aristocracy is therefore one of the greatest stimulations to progress. Reverence for a superior, even in a dog, is a noble quality. "Increase such reverence in human beings," says Ruskin, "and you increase daily their happiness, peace and dignity: take it away and you make them wretched as well as vile." Alas for a people who have no superior class to worship!

(*b*) *Common Ties, Economic, Religious, etc.*—The stability and internal order of a government depend upon a variety of considerations such as the intelligence and character of the people, the number and strength of common ties or interests; upon the complexity of the economic development and especially upon the status of the family. The friction of social life tends to polish off differences and

to unite people by ties of common interest. The general effect of a political organization is to bring about uniformity in language, ideas, manners and customs.[1] The whole socializing or unifying process is one of progress from a simple to a complex consciousness of kind.[2] In the matter of common ties Dahomi had the advantage over all other kingdoms of this zone. The people were to a great extent of the same race, spoke kindred languages, had a common economic life, and, most important of all, common religion. Their religion was in a transition stage between fetichism and polytheism. Along with local deities, not known outside of a small area, there were tribal and national gods known all over the kingdom. This was a decided advantage as an element of unity and stability.

(*c*) *Status of the Family.*—The people of Dahomi also had an advantage over all other people of this zone, except perhaps the people of Ibo and Benin, in the status of the family, which was in a transition stage between the matriarchate and the patriarchate. Among the ruling classes the father and not the mother was the head of the family, and power and property descended to the eldest son, whereas generally elsewhere, descent was in the female line. The succession from father to son is everywhere favorable to the development of a ruling class by permitting the wisdom and property, and also the physical superiority, of one generation to be handed down to another.

(*d*) *Order of Succession.*—Indeed the most important factor of social stability, especially in primitive societies, is the order of succession to place and power. Although in Dahomi, among the upper classes, the son succeeded the father,[3] the system of primogeniture was not firmly established. Owing to the existence of polygamy, the number of sons was large, and they often married and scattered at

[1] Giddings, "Principles of Sociology," p. 111. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 359.
[3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 164.

an early age. Some sons having died it was not easy to ascertain which was the older, and the choice of an heir was often arbitrary, and there was a contention among the wives for their particular sons to receive the nomination. The queen of Dahomi was so jealous of the right of her sons to the succession that she did not permit the sons of the other wives of the king to call themselves princes or even to mention their origin. This indicates that there was confusion in the order of succession.[1] Further evidence that the order of succession was always more or less uncertain is shown in the fact that the two chief councilmen found it necessary to make a selection from among the king's numerous sons, the eldest, if that fact could be ascertained, being considered the heir.[2] The death of a king was usually kept a secret, as the uncertainty of the succession always occasioned an interregnum of lawlessness.[3]

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 124.

[2] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 163.

[3] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 127; Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 164.

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICAL LIFE IN THE BANANA ZONE (*Continued*)

Political Organization of Ashanti—Form of the Government—Summary of the Factors Involved.—The political organization of Ashanti was not very different from that of Dahomi, and the writer will therefore limit himself to noting some of the striking points of contrast. The government was rather that of an aristocracy than a personal despotism, and the chiefs of the districts, though feudatories of the king, preserved a species of independence.[1] The natural conditions were not so favorable to the concentration of power. The groups of people being more scattered on account of the very dense forest,[2] the military power was not so paramount, and the people being nearer the border of the millet zone and giving more attention to the cultivation of the soil, were more active and independent, and therefore less servile. The power of the king extended very feebly to the extremities of the country. The form of the government was rather feudal than absolute. The founder of the Ashanti State concentrated his power at Kumassi, and rulership over the conquered territory was delegated to local chiefs who were bound to appear at the capital only on certain feast days. "Later a great number of courtiers assumed at Ashanti the position of representatives and administrators of the conquered districts, visiting them mostly to collect tribute." [3] The caboceers or local chiefs formed the nobility, who constituted the public council, held all of the offices and exercised the chief control of affairs of state. The power of the king,

[1] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 275.
[2] Stanley, "Coomassie," pp. 159, 162.
[3] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 127.

says Ellis, was curbed by a council called the Ashanti Kotoko, *i. e.*, Ashanti Porcupine, meaning that it could not be molested without injury.[1] Each caboceer was vested with a stool, which was the symbol of authority, and descended from father to son. Next to the nobility stood the freemen or common people who followed various industrial pursuits and were the followers and retainers of the higher classes. And finally there was a slave class.[2] Unlimited power nowhere existed. "So free was Ashanti under its first kings," says Ratzel, "that Dahomi, which was already despotic, declined all close intercourse, lest its people should have an opportunity of making acquaintance with the liberty there existing."[3] The Ashanti people even sometimes deposed their king.[4] In the small independent groups, not forming a part of Ashanti proper, there seems to have been less tendency towards centralization than in the case of the similar groups in the Dahomi region. For example, Binger says that at Bondouku there was no general authority over the whole city, but that each quarter was ruled by the most notable old man, who divided power with the local priest.[5] So far as the distribution of wealth, the character of the people, and extent of warfare were concerned, the conditions in Ashanti were not quite so favorable to despotism as in Dahomi.

System of Government. (*a*) *Legislation.*—Legislation was mostly in the hands of the council.

(*b*) *Council and Executive Officers.*—The administrative officers included a commander in chief of the army, a public executioner, whose badge of office was a solid gold hatchet worn upon his breast; a secretary of the treasury; and an interpreter who conducted intercourse with strangers and acted as prosecutor in criminal cases.[6] A rigid system of

[1] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 277.
[2] Featherman, p. 184.
[3] "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 127.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 128.
[5] Vol. 2, p. 162.
[6] Featherman, p. 184.

police existed at Kumassi. The city was walled in and no one was permitted to leave it after sundown.[1]

(*c*) *Laws, Penalties, etc.*—One of the curious laws of Ashanti was that whoever defrayed the expenses of a funeral of any one was responsible for his debts, and on this account, as one might suppose, the people very seldom buried a stranger.[2] In some localities a whole tribe was held responsible for the crimes or obligations of any one member[3] and in other localities each family was held responsible for any fault of its members. An accused person was first "put in log," that is, his wrist was fastened to a log by means of an iron fork until the day of trial, when he was brought before the king or chief in open court and confronted with witnesses. Each chief had his own local court, but in important matters the king sat in court with all of his chiefs in the open air and in the presence of the people. Any one could appeal to the king.[4] In some cases the guilt or innocence of the accused was decided by ordeal, that is, he was required to drink a decoction of odum-wood. If innocent, he vomited and recovered and if guilty he died. For the more serious offenses the guilty party was subjected to the less doubtful penalties of decapitation, mutilation, etc.[5] In many cases the civil authorities were ignored and the power of some local divinity was invoked to avenge a theft or other injury.[6] The nobility seldom suffered the death penalty, but escaped from their crimes by paying fines.[7] It was the custom for local chiefs to send to the king in baskets the decapitated heads of all subjects executed.[8] The blood of a decapitated person was often drunk by the executioners and sometimes they ate the victim's heart. When in 1823 Sir Chas. M'Carthy was captured by the

[1] Brackenbury, p. 339.
[2] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 299.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 300.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 275.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 275.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 301.
[8] Freeman, p. 53.

Ashantis and beheaded, his heart was made a feast of by the chiefs then present at the capital.[1]

(*d*) *Revenue.*—The king's revenue was derived from several sources. First, from his own private estates which were very vast; and second, from the output of the gold mines. All of the miners of the kingdom were required to send to the king every gold nugget that was dug up, only the dust being retained by the miners.[2] Taxes were levied on all elephant hunters, and during the era of the external slave trade, taxes were also levied on the export of slaves.[3]

Elements of Stability—Summary of the Factors Involved.—So far as the elements of stability were concerned the Ashantis were somewhat weaker than the Dahomans. While they possessed a certain unity of race, language and economic life, their religion was fetich, that is, they had only local deities and no general gods known to all of the people. The family life was more disorganized and on a lower level, the children belonging to the mother only, and transmission of property and power proceeding in the female line.

[1] Freeman, p. 4. [2] Stanley, "Coomassie," p. 64.
[3] Featherman, p. 185.

CHAPTER XV

POLITICAL LIFE IN THE BANANA ZONE (*Continued*)

Political Organization of the Smaller Kingdoms. (*a*) *Forms of the Government.*—The smaller kingdoms of Benin, Ibo, Bonny and others were never able to develop a strong centralized power, nor to specialize their administration, on account of the forests and rivers that cut the population into fragments and prevented coöperation. The forms of governments were relatively simple, and never so absolute as in the case of the larger kingdoms, since, owing to the lack of standing armies, the edicts of the Kings had nothing to give them force. Political control was therefore more conserved by the aristocracies and slave holding classes.[1] For example, among the Calabars the chiefs of the towns and villages exercised no real authority as the heads of the communities over which they presided. The nobles or aubongs were the governing class and were virtually the rulers of the land. Poor freemen were but little superior to slaves unless protected by some patron of the aristocratic order. Freemen could be reduced to slavery by selling themselves either in time of famine or other difficult circumstance beyond their control: they could be sold as delinquent debtors, as prisoners of war, or as criminals. Every master of a domestic establishment exercised unlimited control within the limits of his household and made and enforced the law.[2]

(*b*) *Governmental System.*—The witch doctor was generally relied upon to discover by his magic any one guilty of theft, poisoning or other offense. "There can be no doubt," says Miss Kingsley, "that the witch doctor's methods

[1] Hovelacque, p. 327.

[2] Featherman, pp. 234, 235.

of finding out who has poisoned a person, are effective, and that the knowledge of this detective power to a great extent keeps down poisoning." [1]

In reference to legal matters, it seems to be a fact, however strange, that the deeper one goes into the forest the deeper, more entangled and more impenetrable become all legal proceedings. For example, in the Niger Delta, where children belong to the mother, unless she herself be a slave, great law suits often arise over the possession of the offspring. "The children of slave wives are the only kind of his own children that a free father has any ownership in," and "complications come in from its being a common thing for a freeman to marry a woman who is the property of some other man. All of her children are the property of her owner, not of her husband, and the owner can at any time take those children and sell them . . . unless the father-freeman redeems them,—that is to say, pays a certain customary price to the mother's owner on the birth of each child, the mother still remaining in her slave condition. Palavers based on this law are distraction itself to white magistrates and pretty hard work for the black chiefs, for with them there is no statute of limitations." All of the male as well as the female children of a slave woman belong to her master "even unto the second and third generation and away into Eternity . . . with all of the rights and obligations belonging thereto. A man may die before he puts in his claim, in which case his property passes into the hands of his heir, who may foreclose at once upon entering upon his heritage, or may again let things accumulate for his heir. However, sooner or later, the foreclosure comes and there is trouble." [2]

Secret Societies.—In the absence of any interference on the part of the chief or king, the subjects naturally take the law

[1] "West African Studies," p. 186.

[2] Kingsley, "West African Studies," p. 402.

into their own hands, which in many of the small kingdoms, is administered by means of secret societies.[1] In some localities in recent years the British authorities may have interfered with the operations of these societies, but they were in full bloom when Miss Kingsley was on the West Coast in 1896. "The natives of Calabar and of Brass and Opobo and Bonny Rivers," says Miss Kingsley, "are divided into what they term houses. These houses are bound together by a common Long Ju Ju, and into groups by their secret societies which have certain points of difference, but in the main enforce the same set of laws." Each house is presided over by a king, and beneath him are four classes. First, the king's relatives; second, freemen under the protection of a House; third, trade boys who have fallen into slavery, and fourth, slaves born so and those who have forfeited their freedom and those bought from other tribes.[2] Among savages, the condition especially favorable to a government by secret societies is that of a town or community in a State where the central authority is very weak, or where among independent kingdoms only an embryonic government has developed.[3] The societies in this zone probably originated in connection with the ceremonies attending the initiation of boys and girls into manhood and womanhood. The fetichmen who conduct the ceremonies naturally have great power in the community, and where there is much crime to be ferreted out they feel the need of some organization to share responsibility in dealing with it. The people centre around the fetichmen who seek the people's backing and the result is an evolution into a secret order. These societies are scattered over a great area of West Africa, but are

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 131.

[2] Kingsley, "West African Studies," pp. 398, 399.

[3] Among civilized States, secret societies arise from the tyranny of the government, from oppression, from lack of freedom of speech or from criminal and revolutionary tendencies of the population. On this point the reader may consult Giddings' "Principles of Sociology," p. 181.

principally operative on the Guinea Coast and in the region of the Lower Niger. At Porto Novo the society preserves order in the community by sending out at night a fantastically dressed officer who seizes any one found in the streets after nine o'clock. The credulous suppose him to be a demon from the sea.[1] An officer similar to this is found in the societies of Bonny. He is known as Mumbo Jumbo, a sort of superhuman being, who emerges from the forest at night, dressed in a red bark suit and wearing a mask made of a gourd with holes bored in it for eyes. This monster moves amidst the crowd and all of a sudden touches some woman with his rod, who is immediately seized by the mob, disrobed, tied to a stake and terribly beaten. The offense for which she is thus chastised is usually that of quarreling with her husband.[2] In the Niger region the men belong to one society and the women to another. It is rare that both sexes are members of the same organization.[3] Young free children are admitted at the age of eight or ten years. A boy, if he belongs to a tribe that tattoos, is properly marked and then handed over to instructors who initiate him into the secrets and formulæ. For the space of one year he lives in the forest with other boys under the control of several eminent professors. He goes naked except for a coating of clay which he smears over his body.[4] The girl is put through a similar process of instruction and initiation. She is removed from her home, but is sometimes kept in a hut near a village instead of residing in the forest.[5] In all of the societies much superstition is mixed up with the proceedings. In some cases the members presume to be governed by spirits, or kinds of somethings living in the bush. An instance is cited where one of these spirits had been caught in the forest and brought to town with great jubilation. Its

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 178.
[2] Wood, p. 675.
[3] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 376.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 380.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 380.

word is law.[1] Miss Kingsley thinks that some of the Calabar societies put people to death simply for the fun of it. One of their practices is that the last initiated member must provide one of his own relatives to offer as a sacrifice,[2] and when seizing a victim for this purpose, the murderer dresses in a leopard's skin and plunges an iron fork into each side of the victim's throat.[3] The leopard skin dress secures immunity for the murderer. The notion prevails that whoever kills a real leopard will fall a victim to a curse or disease. Hence sham-leopards ravage sheep, goats, dogs and commit any kind of depredation.[4] Members of the Ogboni, Egbo and Aboni societies of the Benin kingdom are admitted by drinking blood and are bound by oath. No strangers may join. The functions of the society seem to be both of a defensive and aggressive character. Certain costumes are worn at tournaments which protect the members from ill treatment of each other. If any one gives offense to the organization the death penalty is inflicted without a word.[5] Among the Calabars the Egbo society exercises almost complete political control under the sanction of a mysterious supernatural spirit. "No one can be admitted into the mystic fraternity without previously paying an entrance fee to every member. . . . The initiatory ceremonies are entirely secret and the death penalty would be incurred by any member who would dare divulge them. There are ten different degrees, each characterized by some honorable distinction, and the exercise of certain powers: and to the lowest degree boys and slaves are even admitted: while the highest is reserved to the most influential families of high rank and to the ruling chiefs, who are subject to the control of the society like all other members of the same dignity. The privileges enjoyed by the

[1] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 383.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 385.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 386.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 390.
[5] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 131.

members of the association are altogether exclusive, and neither freemen nor slaves that do not belong to the fraternity can claim any rights which may not be annulled or thwarted by this irresponsible despotic power. It is the Egbo that enforces the claim of creditors, who, when the day of payment has passed, may beat the Egbo drum before the door of the delinquent debtor, commanding him to leave his dwelling till his liabilities are discharged: requiring him after the lapse of a certain time, to deliver up his person and property in satisfaction of the debt, if the amount due has not been previously paid. In the interior, poor orphans are seized and sold to satisfy the indebtedness of their deceased father. A slave even may purchase Egbo privileges and his position becomes almost equivalent to freedom, though the rights of the master to the services of his slave are not thereby affected." [1]

(*d*) *Succession in the female line not favorable to stability.*—On account of the uncertainty of parentage inheritance almost everywhere among the Negro races is in the female line, and this is unfavorable to the development or perpetuation of a superior ruling class. As Miss Kingsley points out, the property of a man does not fall to the sons born to him "by one of his wives who is a great woman of a princely line, but to the eldest son of his sister by the same mother as his own. This sister's mother and his own mother was a slave-wife of his father's: this you see keeps good blood in a continual state of dilution with slave blood" and does not "tend to the production of a series of great men in one family." [2] The family is not a miniature kingdom as in the case where the system of primogeniture prevails. However, in the Benin kingdom, during the period of its independent existence, sons often succeeded their fathers (who appointed them without regard to age) [3] and some-

[1] Featherman, p. 235.

[2] "West African Studies," p. 374.

[3] Featherman, p. 226.

times also in the Ibo kingdom[1] and among the Aminas.[2]

Another element of weakness in the small kingdoms was that men devoted much of their time to fighting, and wherever this is the case there is always a tendency to give the leadership to the physically strong.[3] The title to office depended primarily upon physical vigor and not upon blood or wisdom. The ruler usually came suddenly into power without bringing with him those traditions of rulership which were necessary to equip him for his duties and invest his office with respect. Thus it is seen how the composition and character of the family may affect the stability of a government. Indeed, the absence of the patriarchal type of family among the Africans more than anything else distinguishes their rulers for incapacity to govern and renders their empires ephemeral.

(*e*) *Common Language not a strong basis of unity.*— In many regions of this zone, as elsewhere in the world, kinship of language exists over a wide area without bringing about a political unity of commensurate extent. The reason for this is that political power is less easy to communicate than language. Hence for example, the Ibo people have a very wide linguistic domain and a very small kingdom.[4]

[1] Hovelacque, p. 328; Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 232.
[2] Featherman, p. 158. [3] Hawkins, p. 96. [4] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 330.

CHAPTER XVI

POLITICAL LIFE IN THE MILLET ZONE

Integrating Factors. (*a*) *Influence of Natural Resources.*—The political groups of this zone comprise numerous States of various sizes formed among the Mandingos, Bambaras, Yorubas, Hausas, Adamawas, Bongos, Mittus, Madis and Shulis. The territory occupied by the groups west of the Slave Coast hinterland is now mostly under French influence, and is known as French Sudan.[1] The great Samory empire inland from Sierra Leone was overthrown by the French in 1893.[2] The British sphere of influence up to 1903 included all of Yorubaland, and the region from Sa on the Niger to Lake Chad,[3] taking in Hausa and Adamawa[4] and since 1903 it has taken in Kano and extended west to Sokoto. The groups in Upper Egypt, *i. e.*, Egyptian Sudan, extending to the Nile-Congo watershed, are also now under the British sphere of influence.[5] Notwithstanding the less exuberant vegetation in this zone the population is very dense, owing to the less amount of forest and the large area employed in the cultivation of the soil. There are not many barriers in the way of impenetrable forests, or impassable rivers and swamps to isolate one group from the other; and hence over wide stretches of country there are large groups of people of the same type, speaking the same language and having the same beliefs and institutions. However, in the direction of the south the thickening of the forest tends to break up the populations into unlike types, dialects and customs.

[1] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 246. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 248.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 252. [5] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 246.

It is important to note in this connection that the mere fact that people over a wide area are of the same type and have the same language, does not, as one would suppose, imply correspondingly large political organizations. In the millet zone the population is everywhere congested in towns and cities more or less far apart and situated with reference to the most favorable conditions for agriculture. There are no isolated families scattered over the country, as in the agricultural districts of Europe. Preville thinks that the congestion of population in towns is made necessary by the annual burning of the grass which would destroy all houses that were scattered about.[1] The towns vary in size from a few hundred to over one hundred thousand inhabitants, and formerly in many cases constituted independent kingdoms.

(*b*) *Invasions from Outside.*—The political conditions that tended to bring about coöperation and the formation of States were, first, the invasion of the nomad pastoral people from the north who robbed and ravaged the cultivated fields and carried away the inhabitants to sell into slavery.[2] And second, the invasion of the people from the banana regions of the south who sought to steal the harvested grain, domestic animals, etc. A conspicuous fact was that there were no natural obstacles to render invasion difficult either from the north or south.

Necessity and Facility for Defense.—In this region it would seem that the people had every reason for combining on a large scale for purposes of defense, but strange to say in many localities the defense did not amount to anything more than the coming together of the people in fortified towns.[3] In some cases the houses of a village were connected by subterranean passages to enable the people more

[1] P. 252. [2] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 35, 118, 273, 282; Park, p. 60.

[3] Bowen, p. 294; Park, pp. 35, 193; Spilsbury, p. 13; Lander, Vol. 1, pp. 127, 147; Vol. 2, p. 122; Lasnet, "Une mission au sénégal," p. 86; Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 144; Binger, Vol. 1, p. 199.

effectively to protect themselves in case of a sudden attack.[1] The isolation of the groups and feeble sense of nationality caused a reign of complete anarchy and rendered the villages easy prey to the Fellatahs and other invaders. The incoming of the Fellatahs, however, gave an impetus to unity and effected the organization of large States. Ratzel has observed with his characteristic discernment that the first effect of nomad contact with settled people is to bind the latter together.[2]

But besides the danger of invasion from outside there was constant danger of attack of one town upon another. The fact that there were no individual families scattered about between the towns, forming connecting blood ties between town and country and between one town and another, as in European countries, made the people of each town strangers and foes to each other, and liable to perpetual hostility and strife. In reality, the different communities of this zone were constantly at war with each other, stealing each other's provisions, women and slaves. Some villages were inhabited entirely by robbers[3] and vast regions of the country were infested with bands of outlaws.[4] As a result of the incessant warfare European explorers always met numerous abandoned villages. Sometimes the only signs of life about a village, formerly teeming with inhabitants, were groups of monkeys chattering and scampering amidst the ruins.[5] The people of this zone would have remained mere political fragments had not the Fellatahs and other peoples from the desert invaded the country and brought some order out of the chaos. And notwithstanding the influence of the desert invaders, in many localities, the remoteness of one group from another and the difficulties of communicating, caused the people to remain scattered and disunited. For example, the Bongos had no large or

[1] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 43. [2] "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 151, 152.
[3] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 198. [4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 153, 195. [5] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 117.

definite political organizations, but remained divided into fractions by their net-work of rivers.[1] Hence this region, both on account of intertribal conflicts and invasions from outside, became the great slave hunting territory of the Sudan.[2]

(*c*) *Motives for Aggression.*—The motives which turned a defensive into an aggressive movement in this zone were the same as those in the banana zone, to wit, the desire to rob, and to capture slaves.[3] The motive for defense became the motive for aggression. The chief of a tribe at first had no system of revenue, and as his wants increased, he found that his only resource was in waging war and stealing from his enemies. The tribute which the small semi-independent Hausa and other States paid to the head-chiefs of the federation of Gando and Sokoto, consisted mostly of slaves, and this form of exaction was a constant provocation to the aggression of one community upon another.[4] "Experience teaches us," says Binger, "that as soon as a Negro chief commands more than 20,000 souls, he dreams of empire; his needs augment and he seeks expansion. As he has no budget, all is deficit and it is necessary to hunt slaves in order to make up the shortage."[5]

During the era of the slave trade with the Europeans and Americans the motive to make war for slaves was greatly reënforced. The large number of slaves living in every village, in many cases constituting two-thirds of the population, and the high price at which they could be sold, were extraordinary temptations to local *razzias*. The whole region fermented with strife and villages and empires were daily rising and falling with the fortunes of war.[6] Within the limits of the Egba Kingdom in the Yoruba country

[1] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 258. [2] Preville, p. 260.
[3] Clapperton, "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," pp. 51, 82; Staudinger, p. 526.
[4] Robinson, p. 16. [5] Vol. 1, p. 502. [6] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 156.

there were nearly three hundred towns destroyed in the course of only fifty years.[1] In the same period it is said that not less than 500,000 people were killed.[2] Along the road from Kano to Sokoto, Clapperton found the ruins of many villages whose inhabitants had been sold into slavery.[3]

Another motive for aggression which was entirely absent in the banana zone arose from the desire to propagate the Mohammedan religion. This religion had many followers among the Nigritians, and it was essentially proselyting, very jealous of all rivals and always aggressive.

Perhaps another motive for aggression was national pride. As soon as a people acquire some knowledge and some skill in the industrial arts and become conscious of such acquirement, they begin to swell with pride and enthusiasm for expansion. This motive, however, was probably effective only in the States under Fellatah control.

Aggressive Power of the States Generally. (*a*) *Influence of natural boundaries.*—The aggressive power of the States of this zone was limited along the coast in the west by the net-work of broad rivers and the numerous swamps and lakes, but in the higher and more open country there were scarcely any impediments. The most aggressive States were therefore in territories most exempt from natural limitations.

(*b*) *Size of the Population.*—In the more open areas the largeness of the population added considerably to the expansive power of the States.

(*c*) *Economic Resources.*—In ability to support a fighting class the conditions were generally less favorable than in the banana zone. The food supply was limited to what could be cultivated and it was never superabundant. The carrying on of war soon exhausted the country's resources

[1] Bowen, p. 107. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[3] "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 51.

and set limits to offensive activity. The soldiers usually laid waste the country through which they passed and, after impoverishing the inhabitants, often died by the thousands of starvation.

(*d*) *Ability to Coöperate.*—But the people of this zone were more active physically and mentally and they compensated for their less bountiful food supply by greater intelligence and ability to coöperate and greater skill and courage in fighting, especially after the Fellatah conquests.

(*e*) *Military Strength.*—The armies in this zone were superior in equipment to those in the banana zone in that they had horses, oxen and asses for mounts and for transportation of provisions. After the coming of the Europeans in the Sudan all of the armies used muskets. The powder was often a native manufacture which burned very slowly and caused the muskets to kick terribly and divert their aim.[1] However, a considerable part of the foot-soldiers still used bows and arrows. A great obstacle to expansion, so far as the Nigritians proper were concerned, was found in the fact that the groups of people were far apart and pretty evenly matched so that no one of them could gain a decided advantage over another without the intervention of a stronger race.

Comparative Aggressive Power of the Different States. (*a*) *The Hausas.*—The aggressive power of the Hausas was due partly to their greater number of horses and large cavalry which facilitated rapid movement in attacking and retreating, and partly to a generous infusion of Fellatah blood. At the beginning of the nineteenth century most of the rulers of Hausaland were Mohammedans, while the masses of the people were still heathens. Each town had its separate king who, in many cases was a Fellatah, but there was no coöperation between the towns and no real Hausa nation or empire. "In the year 1802," says Robin-

[1] Binger, Vol. I, p. 104.

son, "a Fellatah Sheikh, named Othman dan Fodio, began to preach a holy war against infidels. He suffered many reverses at the hands of the Hausa kings, but at length succeeded in gathering around him a formidable army, composed chiefly of Hausas, with which he established his sway over the whole of the present Hausa States."[1] These States thus united came under the control of the sultanate of Sokoto, the head of the Fellatah Empire.[2] The Hausas were shut in at the north by the Kanuris who had a still larger supply of horses and a still stronger cavalry and still greater mixture of foreign blood.

(*b*) *Mandingos.*—The Mandingos were held in check on the west by the Atlantic Ocean and on the north by the pastoral Fellatahs with their irresistible cavalry. They seemed to have no area open to them except in the east whither they were slowly advancing. The expansive power of the Mandingos, however, lay more in their commerce than in their military operations. The Mandingo traders were celebrated all over the western part of the Sudan. They would go on extensive expeditions, sometimes settling permanently in distant towns and among people of other nationalities. They learned the different dialects and gradually won the favor and gained the upper hand of their neighbors. Thus in Africa as elsewhere in the world the flag has tended to follow commerce. In the thirteenth century the Mandingos had built up the greatest empire in Western Sudan.[3] But after the introduction of the horse, they were not able to hold their territory to the north against the Fellatahs and other invaders. Horses in the Mandingo country do not thrive and people who use them must purchase them from outside and pay a high price.[4]

(*c*) *Yorubas.*—The Yoruba Empire once occupied the area between Dahomi on the west, Borgu on the northwest,

[1] P. 15. [2] Staudinger, p. 515. [3] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 260.
[4] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 100.

the Niger on the east, Benin on the southeast and the coast on the south.[1] But the invasion of the Hausas in 1821 caused the empire to fall to pieces, and at a later date it was divided into a number of petty states, of which that of Egba in the west was the most important. The whole of Yoruba was for a time under Hausa domination[2] but it is now under the sphere of influence of the British.[3] Its superiority over its coast neighbors was due largely to its cavalrymen, and to its more intelligent and more active population. If the slave trade had not disintegrated the empire it would never have succumbed to the invading Hausas.

Different Forms of Government. (*a*) *Facility for communication as a Factor.*—The general absence of natural boundaries in this region was not favorable to centralized forms of government. In order to hold several communities together in an open country it is necessary that the government have a military power which is able to reach to all parts of the territory. The fact is evident that only a highly civilized State could organize and govern people scattered over a wide and undefined area. In this zone, on account of the scattered nature of the population no State could count with any certainty upon the loyalty of towns situated remotely from the seat of power. The towns at a distance from the centre of the government vacillated from one State to another according to the amount of pressure brought to bear upon them, and consequently they retained in a large measure local independence. However, the very difficulties of holding the communities together, made it necessary, in so far as the power of the government could reach at all, to use despotic methods.

(*b*) *Distribution of Wealth and Character of the People.* —Power in this zone was based upon the possession of

[1] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 87. [2] Staudinger, p. 532.
[3] Stanford, Vol. 1, pp. 249, 386.

wealth and not upon military prestige or aristocratic blood, and it was therefore not so easily concentrated. The people generally put forth more effort to live than the inhabitants of the banana zone, they used their muscles and brains more and consequently had a greater spirit of independence, as little as that may have been.

(*c*) *Amount of Warfare.*—The amount of warfare in this zone was less than in the banana zone, yet there was enough of it to bring about centralization of power but for the fact above stated that the distribution of population was such as to render political solidification very difficult.

While some of the governments of this zone were rather despotic, as a rule, they were mild and timid as compared to those of the banana zone. The people who possessed the wealth demanded a voice in the government, and all important questions were usually settled in free palavers.[1]

Comparison of the Different Forms of Government.—The Hausa government consisted of a loose confederacy of a large number of little kingdoms owing a general allegiance either to Gando or Sokoto. This allegiance was shown by the payment of an annual tribute consisting chiefly of slaves, but it did not in any way prevent the little kingdoms from carrying on war against each other.[2] Each king or governor of any one of the confederated States was generally assisted in the control of public affairs by a council of men of wealth. For example, at Kano there was a serki or governor who was assisted by a council, at the head of which was the *ghaladima* who often exercised more influence than the governor himself.[3]

The Yoruba government was a weak kind of monarchy which left all of the towns in the hands of the local chiefs or governors who were almost independent of the king.

[1] From a Portuguese word polabro=discussion, negotiation.

[2] Robinson, p. 16. [3] Featherman, p. 396.

The king ruled conjointly with his eldest son [1] and a council of nobles, but the real power of the State was in the hands of the Ogboni secret society which had a lodge in every town.[2] All of the king's actions were closely watched [3] and if he displeased the council, it invited him to go to sleep, *i. e.*, to take poison. On important occasions all of the people were consulted and all allowed to express an opinion.[4]

The Mandingos were divided into little oligarchical republics, ruled over by a religious chief *Almamy* and a civil officer *Alcaty*.[5] The power of these officers was modified by an aristocratic council.[6] The government of the Krumen was nominally monarchical, but in substance was democratic, the power of the king being circumscribed by the privilege which every one had of calling a palaver.[7] The Mossis were divided into numerous more or less independent confederations. They had a central chief and a local chief, both using rather despotic methods.[8] The Egarah State was a monarchy, but important questions were discussed in the assembly of judges and headmen.[9] The Serers formed a certain number of small republics.[10] The Samory kingdom was divided into provinces or districts, and at the head of each was a chief who was usually a son or brother of the Almamy.

The chiefs of the villages were also subordinates of the Almamy [11] and the government was despotic in every acceptation of the word.[12] The Bongos, says Featherman, had no regularly organized government. Every tribe or village community had its chief, who by virtue of his superior possessions and his proficiency in the magic art, exercised

[1] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 167. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 164. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 165. [5] Lasnet, p. 91. [6] Hovelacque, p. 327.
[7] *Journal of an African Cruiser*, p. 55. [8] Binger, Vol. 1, pp. 479, 502.
[9] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 326. [10] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 327.
[11] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 70. [12] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 150.

limited authority in time of peace, and was recognized as leader in time of war. Prior to British intervention they had been subjugated by the Nubians.[1] The Bambaras had a nearly absolute monarchy which was but slightly restricted by a representative body of nobles and members of the army. The villages were governed by the sons and relatives of the king.[2]

[1] P. 51.

[2] Featherman, p. 339.

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL LIFE IN THE MILLET ZONE (*Continued*)

Systems of Administration. (*a*) *Legislation in the several States.*—Among the Hausas legislation was in the hands of the governor of the state or city acting in conjunction with a council of rich men or nobles. Among the Yorubas it was in the hands of the king and the local governors or councils, but sometimes the whole people assembled and made and administered the laws.[1] In each State there was a council of chiefs and elders, and a two-thirds vote was required for the enactment of a law.[2] However, the Ogboni secret society, as mentioned in another connection, largely usurped the legislative functions,[3] and was the power behind the throne. The king had a number of officers and advisers composing his council, most of whom were slaves.[4]

The legislation in the other States was pretty uniformly divided between the king and some kind of council.

(*b*) *Executive Officers.*—The executive officers of the Hausa State consisted of a commander of the cavalry, several judges, a chief of slaves, a minister of finance, a superintendent of beasts of burden, etc.[5] In other States there were councilmen varying in number according to the size and importance of the government.

(*c*) *Laws and Judicial Proceedings.*—The laws in this zone were aimed mostly at the three cardinal African crimes of theft, adultery and murder. In the region of the Niger theft was often punished by death.[6] Among the Bambaras

[1] Bowen, p. 318. [2] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 164.
[3] Campbell, p. 42; Featherman, p. 199. [4] Campbell, p. 61.
[5] Featherman, p. 396. [6] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 2, p. 175.

theft, adultery and murder were all capital offenses.[1] The Hausas inflicted the death penalty for either murder or adultery. Theft was sometimes punished by cutting off the hands or by death.[2] However, in this zone penalties were more often in the nature of condemnations into slavery than in the banana zone because of the greater value of men as field workers. The Hausas had a law forbidding any one to stroll about the streets at night, and an officer would arrest any one who committed such offense.[3] Any kind of rowdyism in the streets was strictly forbidden and those found guilty of it were severely punished.[4] The Hausas had clearly progressed beyond the private revenge stage of development. They had a good idea of law and order, and offenses were dealt with in the interest of the public. In times of peace robbery and murder were rare.[5] Regular policemen preserved order at the markets.[6]

But the Yorubas had perhaps the most enlightened criminal code of any people in this zone. Murder, treason and house-burning were capital crimes, and in some districts, also theft, robbery and adultery. Minor offenses were punished by fine and imprisonment.[7] Men were imprisoned for debt and every town had a prison where debtors were incarcerated. A husband was held responsible for the debts of his wife, but not those of his children.[8] Criminals who could not pay fines were flogged.[9] Theft was considered an offense against social order as well as an offense against the individual.[10] Jurisprudence here, as in Hausa, was undergoing an evolution from a stage in which the family or group protected its own rights and redressed its own wrongs to that in which the State protected and punished.[11] Trials were held before the chief of the town or before the

[1] Featherman, p. 339.
[2] Staudinger, p. 568.
[3] Featherman, p. 397.
[4] Staudinger, p. 569.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 553.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 569.
[7] Bowen, p. 319.
[8] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 190.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 191.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 302.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

town council or before the Ogboni secret society.[1] In every town there was an Iyalode, "mistress of the street," to whom were referred all disputes between women.[2] Every judge who tried a case was seen in private by both parties, but as the trial was in public no great injustice was tolerated.[3] Among the Hausas small matters were tried by the local governors while great matters were referred to the sultan and his council. All contests in regard to land were adjusted by special judges, and the loser of a suit had to pay indemnity and also the fees to the officers. When a robbery was committed in Kano the party robbed applied to the district chief or policeman who was bound to procure the accused person or become liable himself to the amount of the loss.[4] In all of the principal cities there were judges before whom cases could be brought for trial.[5]

In many localities the question of guilt or innocence was decided by drinking fetich-water.[6] The priest could make the potion effective or harmless as suited his fancy. Most of the victims were, of course, innocent, as only the innocent would willingly drink it.[7] The Mandingos had a palaver house at the entrance of each village where litigation of every kind took place.[8] They had professional expounders of the law for both plaintiff and defendant,[9] and sometimes the advocates employed in cases were so able and evenly matched that the public acting as jury was unable to decide between them. The following case of this kind was related by Mungo Park. An ass belonging to a Mandingo Negro had broken into his neighbor's field and was ravaging the corn, whereupon the neighbor drew his knife and killed the trespassing ass. The owner of the ass

[1] Bowen, p. 319. [2] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 167.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 171. [4] Featherman, p. 396. [5] Staudinger, p. 525.
[6] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 142; Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 121; Spilsbury, p. 40.
[7] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 191.
[8] Lasnet, p. 86. [9] Park, p. 26.

then brought suit for damages, and the case was argued with all of the learning, eloquence and verbosity for which the Africans are celebrated. On the one hand the legal talent set forth the enormity of the crime of killing an ass, the great loss to the owner and the great grief thereof. On the other hand the lawyers for the defendant argued an offset for the damage to their client's corn. After three days of learned argument, pro and con, the court adjourned without being able to arrive at a decision.[1] The Krumen in their judicial proceedings, required every witness to swear by salt. He had to dip his fingers in that divine article, point to earth and to heaven, and then put his fingers in his mouth.[2] Everybody had a right to call a palaver and the litigants employed regular attorneys, as was done by the Mandingos, and sometimes the attorneys were brought from towns two or three hundred miles away.[3] Each town had a palaver house for the trial of local cases, and every two or three years, there was a grand palaver of the whole tribe at which cases on appeal from the local palavers were finally disposed of. Perhaps something should be said here of the Maghi method of legal procedure which was certainly unlike that to be found in any other part of the world, and which had the merit of economy and promptness, to say nothing of its unerring justice. When any of the Maghi people got into trouble, they repaired to a holy rock, called Kobshi, which was the residence of a kind of chief justice, who, instead of permitting lawyers to spar and squabble before him, settled each case by requiring the plaintiff and defendant to appear in court, each with his best fighting cock, and always rendered a verdict in favor of the winning bird. "When two men are litigating about a matter," says Barth, "each of them takes a cock which he thinks the best for fighting, and they go together to Kobshi. Having arrived at the holy rock, they set their birds a-fighting, and he

[1] Park, p. 27. [2] Bowen, p. 39. [3] *Journal of an African Cruiser*, p. 55.

whose cock prevails in the combat is also the winner of the point of litigation. But more than that, the master of the defeated cock is punished by the divinity whose anger he has provoked, and on returning to his village he finds his hut in flames." [1]

The methods of executing criminals in this zone varied much according to locality and the character of successive rulers. It must suffice to name some of the methods mentioned from time to time by Europeans who have visited the country. Clapperton referred to beheading, hanging, impaling and crucifixion,[2] and Bowen referred to strangling with a rope.[3] It is said that the Krumen were sometimes put through a course of physical suffering before execution, especially in the case of war captives, who were turned over to professional female torturers to be lacerated with thorns.[4] In Yoruba an imaginary deity, Oro, an officer of the secret society, was considered the personification of legal punishment, and he went abroad at certain intervals to execute the judgments of the society by decapitating all objectionable persons.[5] Women and girls remained shut up in their huts while he was abroad which sometimes lasted thirty-six hours. As twenty or thirty women were often, during this time, shut up in one hut, the results were hundreds of fights and ten thousand quarrels.[6]

Secret societies that assumed judicial functions were distributed over a great area of this, as of the banana zone, but they seem to have been confined mostly to the populations near the west coast, and to the Mandingos and Bambaras of the interior.[7]

(*d*) *Revenue.*—The sources of revenue in this zone were

[1] Vol. 2, p. 217.
[2] "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 81.
[3] P. 319.
[4] *Journal of an African Cruiser*, p. 59.
[5] Campbell, p. 42.
[6] Bowen, p. 140.
[7] Hovelacque, pp. 330, 331; Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 203; Bowen, p. 319; Featherman, p. 321.

about the same as in the banana zone. Among the Hausas the government made regular levies upon the local communities, taking away an arbitrary portion of their yearly product, and whenever this did not suffice, a raid would be made for what more was needed. When the chiefs of villages had an extra demand made upon them they did not hesitate to seize their own women and children and sell them into slavery.[1] The sultan of the Fellatah Empire of which Hausa was a part, demanded a share of all of the slaves taken in raids.[2] Throughout the region of Mohammedan domination the officials of the sultan had a right to steal as much as they liked from their subjects, especially if the subjects were unconverted.[3] The rulers everywhere required presents from all traders who entered their towns or districts, a custom which was equivalent to regular duties on imports.[4] Mungo Park, it is to be remembered, was killed on the Niger in resisting an effort of a certain chief to exact double payment.[5] The Shulis depended for the support of their government upon irregular tributes from the farmers. When a Shuli chief went out on his periodic collecting tour he rode on the back of one of his subjects, while one of his wives went along to carry a jug of beer to refresh the rider and bearer. If the tribute was not forthcoming he bewitched his subjects' goats, and fowls, and kept back rain.[6] The revenue of Yoruba was derived from the toll paid in cowries upon merchandise brought into the towns, and sometimes a tax on corn, paid in kind, to the gatekeepers as each farmer brought in his crop.[7] Public labor, such as the building of walls, was done without compensation.[8] The support of the Samory Empire was obtained by general pillage and organized slave raids. A regular portion of the

[1] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 189.
[2] Staudinger, p. 526.
[3] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 303.
[4] *Journal of an African Cruiser*, p. 112.
[5] Duncan, Vol. 2, p. 180.
[6] Reclus, Vol. 1, p. 44.
[7] Bowen, p. 318.
[8] *Ibid.*; Campbell, p. 96.

products of the farmers was annually collected, and often the remainder was taken by pillage.[1]

Elements of Stability in the States Generally. (*a*) *Intelligence and Character of the People and of the Ruling Class.*—The elements of stability and order were somewhat stronger and more numerous in this than in the banana zone. The people were generally more intelligent and had organized more solid States. However, there were no effective cohesive elements in the population until branches of the Berber race had taken advantage of the feuds and divisions of the masses, and had overrun and seized a large part of their territory.[2] As far as character was concerned, the rulers of this zone were perhaps a few degrees higher than those of the banana zone. They were mostly old men, risen to power through the accumulation of wealth,[3] in contrast to the more youthful leaders in the banana zone whose power was based upon strength of body, that is, ability to lead in war and hunting. They were more enlightened and more inclined to mete out justice. But they were far from being upright or good models for their subjects, and they would have been a good deal worse than they were if the conditions had favored more concentration of power. Subordinate officials received no regular salaries, and consequently they enriched themselves by dishonest and oppressive methods.[4] None of them seemed to have any conception of public obligation, and all used their power only for self-aggrandizement. In many cases the private citizens who had earned some hundreds of cowries were forced to hide them in the ground or in their huts to prevent them from being confiscated by the chief.[5] The rulers in some localities were so rapacious that the people formed con-

[1] Binger, Vol. 1, pp. 150, 151.
[2] Ogilby, pp. 321, 322; Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 380.
[3] Preville, p. 257.
[4] Staudinger, p. 526.
[5] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 259.

federations to prevent their rise.[1] The ruling classes proceeded on the theory that society existed only for their benefit and not that they existed for its benefit. They either dozed or slept away the greater part of their lifetime or spent it in the most childish and frivolous pursuits.[2] They were generally loafers or slave hunters, and in either case, oppressors, and from a moral point of view stood on a lower level than the common people.[3]

(*b*) *Common Ties.*—The elements most favorable to stability were racial kinship over a wide area, and also, to a considerable extent, common language, common economic life and common religion. The mixture of Fellatah and Nigritian blood, which up to a certain point put cohesive power into the population, was fast becoming a source of weakness as it tended to remove from the population entirely the virile superior race.

(*c*) *Family Status.*—The family life in this zone was slightly better organized, but as a political element, was still very weak because of the prevalence of the matriarchate.

(*d*) *Order of Succession.*—In the matter of the political succession, therefore, the people of this zone were no better off than those of the banana zone. Very often competition took place among the women of a deceased king to furnish the heir to the throne,[4] and a change of rule was sometimes, as in Dahomi, followed by an interregnum of anarchy.[5] Nearly all of the rulers in one way or another were elective, generally being chosen by the chiefs and elders, and ratified by an assembly.[6]

It stands out pretty clearly that the larger and better organized states in this zone were due in a great measure to the collision between the sedentary Nigritians and the

[1] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 502.
[2] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 311.
[3] Staudinger, pp. 554, 555, 556.
[4] Binger, Vol. 2, p. 43; Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 325.
[5] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 113.
[6] Campbell, p. 36.

nomad and pastoral Fellatahs. There runs through all history a struggle between herdsmen and tillers of the soil, and the conquest of the latter by the former, always furnishes an impetus to the formation of great states. The tillers of the soil furnish the necessary economic foundation and the herdsmen the necessary power for governing.

CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICAL LIFE IN THE CATTLE ZONE

Integrating Factors. (*a*) *Influence of Natural Resources.*—All of the political groups of this zone are now under the sphere of influence of the French or British. They comprise the once great Fellatah Empire, the Kingdom of Bornu among the Kanuris, and numerous smaller kingdoms among the Jolofs, Songhays, Malinkops, Dinkas, Shillooks, Nuers and Latukas. The combination of pastoral, agricultural and commercial life in this zone, yields bountiful supplies of food, except in occasional times of drought and destruction of crops from locusts; and hence in many localities the populations are very dense, as for instance, among the sedentary tribes of the Nile. In the west the areas suitable for agriculture are scattered, and vary much in size, so that only in spots are dense populations possible.

(*b*) *Invasions.*—The Nigritians of this zone even more than those of the banana zone have been subjected to continual invasions. In the west the Moors, Tuaregs and Fellatahs have overrun the country, and in the east the Arabs and Berbers.[1] It has been necessary, therefore, for the people to live together in fortified villages. There have been no natural barriers to protect the people except in the east where the numerous tributaries of the Nile have acted as fortifications.

(*c*) *Necessity and Facility for Defense.*—In the absence of natural barriers to keep out invaders, each community has been obliged to protect itself by coöperation and extermination of its rivals. Hence there has been a tendency

[1] Featherman, p. 35.

in this, as in all, steppe regions, for the strong to unite and exterminate the weak.[1] In large open territories both animals and men have a tendency to force out invading rivals from smaller territories. The contest between the prairie people of the Sudan and the agricultural populations in the same region has been going on for many centuries, but the complete supremacy of the former was not brought about until the advent of the Fellatahs and Arabs. The steppe regions have been the points of departure of the world's greatest migrations and offensive movements,[2] favoring more than any other part of the world, by their openness and vastness, the development of a race having homogeneous features, language and customs.[3] The steppe people are forced to combine to protect their fields and cattle, and at the same time, are tempted to aggress upon their neighbors in order to find new pastures.

(*d*) *Motives for Aggression.*—Capital being necessary to existence in this zone of the Sudan the temptation was great for those who had none to organize raids upon the property of their neighbors.[4] When these raiding expeditions met with success they sometimes culminated in a great expansive movement and the establishment of an empire. As in the zones already considered the desire to capture slaves for commercial purposes was also a powerful stimulation to aggression. A still further motive for aggression arose from the introduction of the Mohammedan religion which kindled some national sentiment and spirit of conquest.

Aggressive Power of the States Generally. (*a*) *Influence of Natural Boundaries.*—The natural limits to expansion for the people of this zone were the desert on the

[1] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 440.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 432.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 445.
[4] Featherman, pp. 35, 315.

north, and the millet zone on the south, where the damp climate and absence of grass were unfavorable to cattle and horses. In the east, the Nile, and in the west, the Niger and Senegal, offered some obstacles to the spreading out of several of the small and feeble kingdoms.

(*b*) *Size of Population and Economic Resources.*—In the central part of the zone the unobstructed nature of the country, the large masses of population and ample resources were highly favorable to empire building.

(*c*) *Ability to Coöperate.*—The Arabs in the east and the Fellatahs in the west had the intelligence and impetus to form States, and they played the rôle of dominators in their respective localities. Among the pure Nigritians, however, the lack of intelligence and also lack of national sentiment, kept the groups apart and hostile to each other, so that, instead of expanding, it was more than they could do to defend themselves. The ability to cooperate is connected intimately with the dry and invigorating climate of the steppe regions from which the Arabs and Fellatahs came. Spencer points out that all of the great conquering races of the world have come from dry climates.

(*d*) *Military Strength.*—The military forces of this zone were more powerful chiefly because of the greater number of horses available for the cavalry. Indeed, horses have played a great part in the military drama of Europe, Asia and Africa and but for their existence the whole map of the Western World would have been different.

(*e*) *Resistance of Border States.*—There were no people on the borders of this zone strong enough to offer any effective resistance to expansion. Outside of the zone it was the absence of grass rather than the presence of hostile armies that prevented the pastoral States from enlarging their boundaries.

Comparative Aggressive Power. (*a*) *The Fellatahs: History of their Invasion and Conquests.*—The most power-

ful people of this zone were the Fellatahs. They sprang originally, no doubt, from the Libyan branch of the Berbers who played such an important part in the history of ancient Egypt as invaders and conquerors. For a long time the Berbers occupied almost the entire northern part of Africa, and as late as the seventh century A. D. they occupied the whole region of the north except a narrow strip along the coast.[1] This race which is, in fact, Caucasian, was influenced somewhat by the ancient Egyptians, and by the successive invasions into North Africa of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans; and later, of the Vandals and other populations of Western Europe. With the Arab invasions beginning in the seventh century,[2] the Hamitic or Berber populations were pressed southward and westward, and at the same time, were absorbed to some extent by the Arabs, who infused their language and imposed their religion throughout a great portion of North Africa.[3] In the conflict between the Arabs and Berbers, the former had two decisive advantages, first the possession of the horse which facilitated rapid movement, and second, the possession of a common religion which aroused national sentiment and passion for conquest. The Berbers gradually adopted the religion of the Arab, and at the same time, his horse, and thus they acquired the same advantages over the Negro of the south that the Arabs once possessed over them.

Pressed by the Arabs from the north, the Berbers began to invade the Sudan in the thirteenth century.[4] The advanced guard perhaps had not been indoctrinated with the Mohammedan religion, as some of the invaders, even to this day, hold fast to their primitive fetich beliefs and practices.[5]

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 241.
[2] Keane, "Man: Past and Present," p. 472.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 473; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 244.
[4] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 299.
[5] Lasnet, p. 40.

The whole history of the desert people is characterized by such periodic waves of migration as the one here described, and the reason for these phenomena is that the people live in oases whose areas are as fixed as those of the islands of the sea, and therefore when the population overflows it is necessary that the surplus numbers migrate *en masse*.[1] Whenever a migration starts in one direction the impact is communicated throughout the whole desert region. These waves of migration mark the turning points in the history of all the great nations of Asia and Africa, and even of Europe up to the tenth century.

According to some authorities the Fellatahs entered the Sudan from the east and moved westward,[2] their starting point being perhaps somewhere east of Lake Chad,[3] while others maintain that they entered from the west somewhere about the Senegal River and moved eastward.[4] A very recent and plausible theory, to be noticed more fully in another volume, is that they were not immigrants at all but branches of the original African stock, having acquired their deviating peculiarities in the highlands of the Sudan, and in the Atlas Mountains; their lighter color of hair and skin being due to the altitude of their habitations. But whatever their origin, once in the Sudan, they began to mix gradually with the blacks and to assume a new physical type. They became known to the people of the Sudan under a variety of names, all of which, probably, had a common origin in the word *pulo* which, among the western Fellatahs, means red or light brown. The Hausas called them Fellani, Fulani or Foolbes, the Kanuris called them Fellatahs,[5] the Mandingos called them Pools and the Arabs called them

[1] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 483.
[2] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 392; Deniker, p. 443.
[3] Staudinger thinks that the Fellatahs are an Asiatic people, p. 541.
[4] Ratzel, "History of Mankind, Vol. 3, p. 298.
[5] Deniker, p. 443.

Foolans.[1] They were also known as Fulbes, Pulloes, Futa Torros, etc.[2]

At first the Fellatahs disposed themselves in small sequestered groups among the Nigritians, bringing with them their cattle and horses and seeking new pastures. They were by nature nomadic and did not live in large towns like the Negroes, but in temporary huts of reeds, straw or skins, dispersed over the grassy plains, in such a way as apparently not to encroach in the least upon the territory under cultivation by the blacks. Hence the natives did not think it worth while to interfere with them, and in a short time they were encamped over almost the entire grass area of the Sudan, and were not even aware of their own numbers or strength, and had made no effort towards unification.[3] More than a majority of them were staunch Mohammedans and not a few of them had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, or had visited Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli and even Turkey.[4]

However, in the first years of the nineteenth century, there arose among them a hero warrior and prophet, Sheikh Othman dan Fodio, sometimes called the Napoleon of the Sudan, who aroused in his people a spirit of conquest and of nationality. Featherman says, "He emerged from the forest of Ader or Taleda, established himself in the province of Goober, where he built a city, and there the Fellatahs began to rally under his banner." He "appointed chiefs over the different divisions, to each of whom he delivered a white standard, enjoining upon them to go out and conquer in the name of God and the prophet, adding that Allah had given to the Fellatahs the lands and the riches of all the unbelievers, because they were the only faithful of Islam. . . . He affirmed that every Fellatah warrior that was wounded or was killed in battle was sure to gain

[1] Featherman, p. 381.
[2] Staudinger, p. 540.
[3] Featherman, p. 380.
[4] *Ibid.*

admittance into paradise. Kano submitted without striking a blow, Goober followed next, and finally Haoossa, Cobbi, Yaori and part of Nyffe were subjugated by the victorious conqueror." The Fellatahs carried their victorious arms as far as Yoruba and Bornu.[1] They penetrated into Baghirmi, Waday, Darfur, Adamawa and into the regions on both sides of the Benue River,[2] but they nowhere constituted a majority of the population except perhaps in Futa Jallon.[3] Under Othman, the great empire of the Fellatahs was established and its capital located at Sokoto.[4] For a while it included Bornu, but after a bitter struggle, the natives of Bornu, the Kanuris, gained the upper hand.[5] The rapid conquests by the Fellatahs was greatly facilitated by the depletion of the Negro populations through the ravages of the slave trade. Upon the death of Othman in 1817 the territory which he had conquered was divided between his brother Abd Allah and his son Mohammed Bello. The former retained Gando as his capital and ruled over the southwestern portion of the conquered territory, whilst the latter, who was acknowledged as the spiritual head of the whole, ruled from Sokoto over the remainder, including the important towns of Kano, Katsena and Zaria.[6] At the time of the British conquest in 1903 the empire was divided into three nominally independent kingdoms, to wit, Sokoto, Gando and Adamawa, but the sultan of Sokoto exercised a kind of sovereignty over all.[7] However, the treaty of 1885 with Great Britain had already practically placed the Fellatah Empire under the British Protectorate.[8]

Within the zone of grass the Fellatahs had no trouble in making conquests. They had all of the resources for carrying on effective and prolonged campaigns. Their army of cavalry moved with irresistible momentum, and the innu-

[1] Featherman, p. 380. [2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 297.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 296. [4] Featherman, p. 379. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 279.
[6] Robinson, p. 15. [7] Staudinger, p. 532. [8] Stanford, Vol. 2, p. 250.

merable herds of cattle which followed the march, supplied an inexhaustible commissariat. Their fighting forces could come together quickly and escape the disasters of defeat by rapid flight. They not only knew how to conquer, but had the intelligence to organize States and to systematize the machinery of government. As Ratzel points out, it has not been at all accidental, but due to natural superiority, that the great conquering and State-founding people have come from the North. For example, the Germans who migrated in the early Middle Ages to Italy, France, Spain and North Africa; the Keltic invasion of Greece, the descent of the Aryans into India, the conquest of China by the Manchurians, and the passage of the Toltecs and Aztecs from southwestern North America to Mexico.[1]

(*b*) *The Kanuris.*—The next State of importance in this zone was that of Bornu, comprising for the most part the Kanuris who had a strong admixture of Arab and Fellatah blood. The State dates back to the ninth century when it arose under the influence of an invasion of Arabs.[2] Its military strength lay in its standing army which was composed of several thousand cavalrymen. The riders wore metal helmets with chin pieces, and also coats of mail made of iron chains which covered them from breast to knee. Even the horses were defended by plates of iron, brass and silver that fitted over their heads. The weapons were spears six feet long, battle-axes which hung by the saddle, and long daggers fastened by a strap to the left arm of each rider. The infantry carried muskets, spears, shields, an ax like a scythe for throwing, and sometimes bows and arrows.[3] Before the Kanuris were conquered by the Fellatahs, the king or sultan had 80,000 armed men that had been recruited by his local chiefs.[4] After the fall of the Fellatah Dynasty, the army consisted of an irregular soldiery

[1] "Anthropogeographie," Vol. I, pp. 244, 558.
[2] Stanford, Vol. I, p. 259 [3] Wood, p. 693. [4] Featherman, p. 218.

who were the followers of the several petty sultans or chiefs within the State, and comprised in all about 30,000 men,[1] including an artillery company equipped with twenty home-made cannon.[2] In time of war the sultan took command, accompanied by an unlimited supply of wives, and a number of his palace officials. The real command of the army, however, was in the hands of a minister of war.[3] Instead of salaries, the soldiers received free allotments of land upon which they earned their living.[4] Upon the whole, the Kanuri army was the best equipped and most irresistible in the Sudan.

(*c*) *Other Peoples.*—The other groups of this zone were too weak to extend their domains. In the regions of the Upper Nile the tribes had no regular army. When war broke out some of the women and children were placed in the centre of the village or cattle range, while the men in groups of eight or ten sallied forth against the enemy, throwing their iron-pointed lances and flourishing their clubs and sticks. The defensive armor consisted of parrying sticks,[5] and shields made of buffalo hide.[6] Bows and arrows were seldom used by the people along the Nile and in some localities they were entirely unknown.[7]

[1] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 4; Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 403. [2] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 4.
[3] Wood, p. 690. [4] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 4; Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 403.
[5] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 154. [6] Featherman, p. 35.
[7] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 90.

CHAPTER XIX

POLITICAL LIFE IN THE CATTLE ZONE (*Continued*)

Forms of Government in General. (*a*) *Influence of the Natural Conditions.*—As to the forms of government in this zone, the openness of the country would seem at first view to have favored centralization by affording easy communication and coöperation, but there is such a thing as having a country too open, if it is very large in area, rendering it difficult for a government to hold the segregated communities together and to impose upon them any effective authority. In this vast prairie region the natural conditions did not at all seem to favor effective centralization.

(*b*) *Character of the People.*—Furthermore a large per cent. of the people in this zone possessed capital which gave them a spirit of independence and this fact militated against concentration of political power. Although the theocratic religion strongly favored a centralized and absolute form of government, it was not able to overcome entirely the opposing tendencies. The fact that the people of this zone were more intelligent, more spirited and freer from gross forms of superstition than the people of the lower zones, explained why they had a certain respect for individual liberty and an intolerance of absolutism.

(*c*) *Amount of Warfare.*—The great military activity of the Fellatahs and Kanuris was very conducive to centralization, but the country was so vast and the communities so far apart that military power could not be made to cover the entire area. Hence it may be concluded that all of the conditions in this zone tended to conserve a certain degree of local independence.

Comparison of the Forms of Government.—The Fellatah government was theoretically absolute, but the authority of the Sultan of Sokoto scarcely extended with any effectiveness outside of the limits of his capital. In the several States of the empire the sultan was assisted by an elective council of elders,[1] which exercised supreme authority and claimed the right to depose the sultan, if he were objectionable to the people.

The Bornu government, though theocratic in form, was not at all absolute.[2] The authority of the sultan was limited by a council held every morning, composed of the royal family, officials of rank, the Kanembe who represented the freemen, and lastly, the captains of the army who, by the way, were mostly of slave origin.[3]

The government of the Malinkops was a monarchy, but the real power was in the hands of the village headmen who claimed the right to depose the king if the circumstances justified it, while the citizens of the villages sometimes deposed their village headmen. National affairs were left to the council of headmen which convened at the king's residence.[4]

The Jolofs had a nominal sovereign presiding over a number of districts, each having its chief, but the real government was in the hands of the noble or free class whose opinions prevailed in matters of general interest.[5]

The Shillooks had a chief who shared authority with a council of elders.[6] Thus it seemed that there was nowhere in this zone an absolute form of government such as existed in the Banana zone.

System of Government. (*a*) *Legislation in the States Generally.*—Legislation was, as the facts already stated in-

[1] Featherman, pp. 375, 387.
[2] Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 139.
[3] Featherman, p. 280.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 315.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 359; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 304.
[6] Featherman, p. 66.

dicate, a matter for the king or sultan, assisted or influenced by a property-holding aristocratic class.

(*b*) *Executive Offices.*—The Fellatah and Kanuri governments were the only ones that had a systematized administration. The head of the Fellatah administration was the sultan who resided at Sokoto and was both political and religious chief. His council consisted of a chief adviser, a treasurer, a commander of the army, a steward, a chief of the eunuchs, and a sort of priest, *malam*, who wrote letters; and finally a judge who administered the law.[1] The provincial offices were sold to the highest bidders who were usually the relatives of the sultan; and upon the death of an officer, all of his property reverted to the sultan. All inferior offices in the towns and provinces were in like manner sold to the highest bidder by the governors, who also inherited the property of their subordinates.[2]

The ruler of the Kanuris was assisted in the administration by a chief counselor or prime minister, a secretary of state, a commander-in-chief of the army (who under the Fellatah dynasty was always a slave), a minister of foreign affairs who conducted the correspondence and regulated intercourse with strangers, a governor of the capital, and a secretary of the interior who made an annual tour of inspection throughout the empire, reporting upon the administration of the country, the condition of agriculture, and industry.[3]

(*c*) *Laws and Judicial Proceedings.*—The laws of this zone were largely governed by a written code, *i. e.*, the Koran, and were much more comprehensive than those of the people near the coast. Among the Fellatahs the Koran was their civil as well as religious law, and was always brought into court and read before sentence was passed upon a criminal. Adultery was punished by a flogging and shaving the offender's head, and theft by amputating a leg

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 306.

[2] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 264.

[3] Featherman, p. 280.

or hand.[1] In Bornu there were regular tribunals and judges for all crimes and disputes. The lower court was presided over by a Kadi whose jurisdiction was quite extensive, but from whose decisions appeals could be taken to the sultan. The sultan's court was held on certain days of the week, attended by the district governors and the parties and witnesses concerned in litigation. Among the Malinkops cases of great moment were brought before the national council, and minor matters before the local council.[2]

The penalties and manner of executing the judgments of the courts varied much according to locality. In case of murder the Kanuris delivered the criminal to the relatives of the victim who dashed out his brains with a club. A thief who committed several offenses was punished by the loss of a hand, but if still a novice in the business, he was only buried in the ground, leaving his head well buttered and honeyed, above the surface, as a banquet table for flies and mosquitoes.[3]

(*d*) *Revenue.*—The revenue of most of the states was derived from slaves, sheep, grain and salt, paid as tribute by the local chiefs and villages,[4] and from traveling merchants who were required to pay for the privilege of passing through the kingdoms. The income of the Fellatah empire was derived from the sale of offices and from wholesale plundering of Negro settlements.[5] The sultan took two-thirds of the dates and other fruits sold in Sokoto, and he rented stalls and collected taxes on all articles sold in the markets.[6] In Bornu the sheikh regulated the markets and collected a commission on all sales amounting to more than

[1] Featherman, p. 375. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 315. [3] Denham, p. 245.

[4] Barth, Vol. 2, p. 564; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 306; Lander, Vol. 1, p. 299.

[5] Lorin, p. 254; Lander, Vol. 1, p. 282; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 306.

[6] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 264.

four dollars.[1] The Malinkop king supported himself largely from his landed estates and from voluntary contributions in gold.[2] The Shillook king claimed all of the elephant tusks obtained in his domain, and each village paid tribute in a certain number of cows in proportion to its wealth.[3]

Elements of Stability in the States Generally. (*a*) *Intelligence and Character of the People.*—The elements of stability were stronger in this zone than in any of the others. The people had the advantage of more intelligence and character. Many of the ruling class had been educated in the Mohammedan doctrines, and taught to read and write Arabic, but they were upon the whole rapacious, treacherous, avaricious and addicted to all of the vices peculiar to tropical rulers. If the rulers were better in this zone than in the others, they nevertheless did not rise much above the masses.

(*b*) *Common Ties.*—Other elements of stability consisted of a more interwoven and complex economic life, wider linguistic and racial affinities and more general adherence to a common religion. Nevertheless, the cohesion of the population was not very great, except in Bornu and in the Fellatah Empire. The Fellatahs, Arabs and Nigritians nowhere formed a unit of interest. The latter people especially were difficult to weave into a durable social fabric for the reason that they often submitted to be enlisted as the instruments of treachery by intruders from outside.[4]

(*c*) *Status of the family and succession of power.*—A common source of weakness in the States in this zone, as in the others, was the system of matriarchy and inheritance in the female line. This, as already pointed out, was not favorable to political stability. The Kanuris had an elective monarchy, the privilege of choosing a successor among the sons of the deceased king without regard to

[1] Wood, p. 697; Rohlfs says that there were no duties or taxes on trade when he was there, Vol. 1, p. 347.
[2] Featherman, p. 315.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[4] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 167.

priority of birth, having been conferred by the nation on three of the most distinguished men of the country.[1] Among the Jolofs succession was in the female line subject to the approval of the nobles, and was sometimes elective.[2] Among the Shillooks the throne did not pass in direct line from father to son, but to the mother's child or some other relative on the female side.[3] An exception to the general rule seems to have been found in the case of the Malinkops where succession was in the male line, this having been due, if it was a fact at all and the writer questions it, probably to Arab influence.[4]

Estimate of the Fellatah Power.—Notwithstanding the superiority of the Fellatahs in intelligence and ability to found States, they did not have the elements of stability, nor the power of promoting progress that their racial supremacy at first seemed to promise. The empire was held together more by religious zeal than by national sentiment based upon common political, economic and cultural interests, or effective coercive power. For this reason many of the States that composed the empire were in a high degree independent and refractory. The most serious drawback was that they, as well as the Nigritians, lacked the patriarchal form of the family and the institution of succession to power and property in the male line. Succession to power among them was not uniformly hereditary but followed from sultan to his councilmen in the order of their importance,[5] and rulership in the subordinate States was generally elective.[6] In the next place the Fellatahs were naturally averse to systematic warfare. Like their Berber ancestors, they were devoted to their pastoral and commercial pursuits and fought only incidentally when their economic conditions rendered it necessary, *i. e.*, when they

[1] Barth, Vol. 2, p. 27. [2] Featherman, p. 359. [3] Reclus, Vol. 1, p. 122.
[4] Featherman, p. 315. [5] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 306.
[6] Lasnet, p. 54; Featherman, p. 375.

needed new pastures, or were in quest of booty. It was not to their taste to give up their traditional mode of life and submit to the discipline of a standing army. Therefore they imposed the duty of regular military service upon slaves and serfs, often turning over to them the places of command. Their standing army of cavalrymen and archers, even to commanders was made up of slaves.[1] This policy weakened the force of the army and demoralized the Negro population which did not yield readily to the commanders of their own race. The Fellatahs of Futa Jallon found the practice of enlisting Negro soldiers so unsatisfactory that they were compelled to abandon it, and to prohibit the Negroes from carrying a gun or even a bow, without permission.[2] In other districts the employment of Negroes in the army continued, but with baneful results.[3]

Finally the gradual mixture of Fellatah with Negro blood was tending, as Ratzel says, to drag down the higher race, undermine its spirit and cause the States which it had formed to dissolve and disappear in the ocean of Negro disintegration and timidity.[4]

The Fellatahs therefore had no great future to contemplate in the Sudan. Their empire, as that of all previous pastoral people, terminated with the empire of grass. The Fellatahs, said Ellis, "fight on horseback—hence they could not fight in the forest."[5] Their manner of life did not fit them for penetrating the regions of the Equator, and even if they had advanced in that direction, the more prolific Negro population would have absorbed and obliterated them before they could have gained sufficiently in numbers to establish a permanent footing. The Fellatah women

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 305.

[2] Featherman, p. 376.

[3] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 305, 306.

[4] "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 293, 300, 301. Binger says that wherever the Fellatahs came in contact with the Mandingos that the former were drowned and absorbed, Vol. 1, p. 395. [5] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 332.

usually have only three or four children as compared to six to a dozen among the pure Nigritians.[1] Rohlfs thought that at the rate of intermixture prevailing in his time the Fellatahs would be absorbed and blotted out in a few generations.[2] Thus what was gained by mixture with a superior race had a tendency to be neutralized by absorption.

The racial intermixture and the climatic conditions together seemed to combine to bring about the degeneracy of the Fellatahs as soon as they advanced too far into the South. Miss Kingsley, with her rare insight, once remarked that "as long as they have plenty of sand and the chance of perishing now and again for want of water, they will flourish."[3] As a result of contact with the Negro the character and institutions of the Fellatahs seemed to receive more and more of a savage stamp, particularly in the direction of more merciless and cruel treatment of their subjects, which is a characteristic of Negro rulers. Referring to the Fellatah degeneracy Lady Lugard writes:

"The judicial system of the Hausas, already founded on Mohammedan institutions, and adopted in the first instance by the conquerors, was allowed to fall into disuse. Courts continued to exist, but the Alkalis who should have presided over them and dispensed justice according to Koranic law, irremovable from their positions as the judges of Great Britain, were either disregarded, as in some cases by the great chiefs who held their own courts and gave decisions at their own will, or overruled by the emir, or worse still, subjected to the authority of the emir's favorite slaves, who decreed to their enemies inhuman punishments of their own invention. For the nails to be torn out with red hot pincers, for the limbs to be pounded one by one in a mortar while the victims were still alive, for important people who

[1] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 161. [2] Vol. 2, p. 214.
[3] Article "Life in West Africa," in *British Africa*, London, 1901, Vol. 2, p. 378.

had offended to be built up alive gradually in the town walls, till, after a period of agony, the head of the dying man was finally walled up, were among the punishments well attested to have been inflicted in the decadence of the Fulani power. . . .[1]

"The system of taxation, like the system of justice, originally based in the Hausa States upon Koranic law, and in the first instance adopted by the conquerors, was similarly debased. . . . In the degradation of Fulani rule in the latter half of the century, trade was practically destroyed, and agriculture rendered almost impossible by the ceaseless creation of new taxes.

"In nearly all of the country districts the peasantry had remained pagan. To raid pagan countries for slaves was lawful according to the Koran. In the early days of their rule the Fulani used this permission to carry out raids against the pagan centres of the southern districts. . . . As their power weakened and was confined within narrower limits in the southern emirates, they were forced to abandon the process of distant raiding. They began to raid and sell their own peasantry and thus completed the desolation of the country by a process which resembled the fabulous devouring of its own body by a snake."[2]

[1] P. 401. [2] P. 404.

CHAPTER XX

POLITICAL LIFE IN THE CAMEL ZONE

Integrating Factors and Aggressive Power.—The Tibbus are scattered over a wide mountainous area and divided into segregated groups made necessary by the narrow valleys in which the people must find pastures for their camels and other animals. From the surrounding desert regions the Tuaregs and Arabs make frequent incursions into the Tibbu settlements for the purpose of stealing their camels, horses, goats and dates. On the other hand, the Tibbus themselves make raids outside of their territory and come into collision with the races of the Sudan,[1] or with the Tuaregs over the salt mines of Bilma.[2] Therefore they are obliged to effect some kind of organization for defense. Their scant resources would naturally tempt them to make continuous aggressions upon their immediate neighbors in the desert, but they find at their elbows more powerful races against whom they are unable to cope. Their problem is more one of defense than of attack. Whenever they receive warning of the approach of the Tuaregs or Arabs they take refuge on the top of a rock, carrying with them by means of ladders, all of their portable property, and abandoning their animals to the invaders. The Tuaregs not only steal their animals but carry away their people to sell into slavery.[3] The natural barriers separating one Tibbu group from another do not favor concentration of power, and the people therefore are grouped upon a tribal rather than upon a political basis, having really no organization that deserves to be called political.[4]

[1] Barth, Vol. 2, p. 583. [2] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 454.
[3] Wood, p. 705.
[4] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 264; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 264.

Their aggressive activities are limited to predatory attacks upon their own race and upon the passing caravans. Every Tibbu must keep himself in readiness for an attack, and even women find it necessary to wear daggers concealed under their robes.[1] The men have formidable weapons such as lances, javelins, poniards, broad-swords, and knives for hurling, besides the more recently introduced fire arms. Their defensive armor consists of leather shields.[2]

Form and Character of the Government.—The absence of political protection and the consequent necessity for each man's protecting himself, together with the energy and intelligence required in providing means of subsistence in this bleak and bare region, naturally tend to develop a spirit of independence, which is not at all favorable to a political despotism. Nevertheless, the influences of their religion would in a measure overcome this independence and cause them to yield to the arbitrary power of the sultan if they were more compactly grouped. Their form of government represents a transition from the despotic Negro régimes of the south to the somewhat free and independent governments of the Tuaregs, Berbers and Arabs of the North and West.[3] In contrast to the Sudan Negroes, the Tibbu ruler has no power of life and death, and levies no tax or tribute. His only revenue consists of toll levied on caravans and a share of the booty taken in raids.[4] He is not a law-giver but acts only as a sort of arbiter in cases of dispute.[5] The real government is in the hands of the nobility or capitalists, *i. e.*, those who own the camels, goats and other animals.

Some elements of stability are given to the Tibbu societies by common race, common language, religion and economic conditions, but the transmission of power, as among the other Negroes of Africa, is not established upon

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 262. [2] Featherman, p. 756.
[3] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 264.
[4] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 262. [5] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 264.

any solid basis. In some localities succession is in the female line, and elsewhere the rulers are chosen alternately from different families of the nobility.[1] Wealth in the form of movable property is very unstable everywhere in the world and furnishes a precarious basis for the transmission of power or the perpetuation of an enlightened and experienced ruling class.

General Considerations.—The facts presented in reference to the treatment of criminals in the several zones seem to lend probability to the theory that in judicial evolution, the righting of wrongs committed within the tribe was first attempted by appeal to supernatural agents, *i. e.*, to the ordeal and intervention of the witch-doctor, and not as commonly supposed by means of private revenge. There seems to be no system of private revenge anywhere in the zone of the banana, for the reason that the people are so overawed by fear of evil spirits that they dare not retaliate for any wrongs that they may suffer. After the change from the tribal to the political organization, a wrong done to an individual comes to be regarded as an offense against the public, and even then appeal is often made to the ordeal, witch-doctor or priest to obtain redress. The general practice of blood revenge is only compatible with a solid family or tribal organization such as exists among pastoral and patriarchal people, or those who are less under the bondage of superstition. It arises from love of family just as patriotism arises out of love of country and people. In Africa the family is too much disorganized to give birth to a sentiment of family pride and honor.

There seems to be a close correspondence in the several zones between the concentration of wealth and the concentration of political power. In the banana zone the aristocratic or property class is proportionately small and compact, and political power exists there in its most con-

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 264, 269; Featherman, p. 755.

centrated form; while in the millet zone and in the cattle zone, the property class is relatively large and scattered, and political power is there less concentrated. In the camel zone, probably a majority of the men are capitalists but they cannot unite with their fellow capitalists owing to the detached nature of the population. Here political power is subject to long division and each man is his own king. Buckle's statement may be taken as true that in all tropical countries there is a tendency for property to be controlled by a few men and consequently for political power to be concentrated. The people receive only a small share of production and have no part in government. "There is no instance on record," says Buckle, "of any tropical country, in which wealth having been extensively accumulated, the people have escaped this fate; no instance in which the heat of the climate has not caused an abundance of food and the abundance of food an unequal distribution first, of wealth and then of political power. Among nations subjected to these conditions the people have counted for nothing: they have had no voice in the management of the State and no control over the wealth that their own industry has created. Their only business has been to labor: their only duty to obey. Thus there have been usually generated among them those habits of tame and servile submission, by which as we know from history, they have been always characterized." [1]

In the banana zone where there is the most despotism, political and religious, there is also the least freedom of action for the individual citizen. In the millet zone there is less despotism and more freedom; and in the cattle zone still less despotism and still more freedom. Hence it may be concluded that the farther man emerges from the lowest social stage the less he is subject to any kind of coercion.

The progress from slavery to freedom depends upon

[1] Vol. 1, p. 81.

the power of men to exercise self-restraint, and to act wisely upon individual initiative. The more they subordinate their animal instincts and passions, and develop their higher mental faculties, the less willingly they will submit to external restraints and the less such restraints become necessary.

> "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars
> But in ourselves that we are underlings."

"The free man," says Carlyle, "is he who is loyal to the laws of the universe." But the majority of mankind are unacquainted with the laws of the universe and cannot be reached by appeal to reason or conscience, and hence checks to their savage nature must be brought about by force. The lash, the prison, the gallows, the javelin, sword, and cannon, and the despotic master and king, are everywhere and in all ages the advertisement of man's inability to govern himself. The political institutions in Africa, as in all other countries, are fairly well adjusted to the status of the people.

CHAPTER XXI

CUSTOMS, CEREMONIES AND THE SPECTACULAR IN THE BANANA ZONE

General Purpose of Customs, Ceremonies, Etc.—People everywhere, particularly savages, have many strictly observed customs, ceremonies and many kinds of spectacular displays, of which some have reference to the economic life, some to the family life, some to the social life, some to the political life and some to the religious life. It is probable that, all of them have, or have had, some important significance, although in particular instances their meaning may not be easily traced or understood, but in every case they have come into existence for the purpose of exercising some kind of control over the people, to habituate them to certain desirable things, or to deter them from injurious or undesirable things. They are important as a discipline to conduct and conscience, and may be rightly considered, at least in part, as "an outward expression of ethical principles."[1] The people who observe them may not be, and often are not, aware of their origin and purpose, since lapse of time has caused the origin to be lost sight of.

Taboos on Food, Etc.—A very common custom in this zone, as in savage countries generally, is that of placing a taboo upon certain kinds of food. For example, among the Bassamese, the sorcerers and medicine-men have alone the right to feed on milk, and the belief prevails that if a profane person were to partake of this sacred beverage the cows would go dry or something else go wrong. The com-

[1] Small and Vincent, p. 264.

mon people are forbidden to eat the flesh of the hog, the he-goat, and the dog, or to partake of certain kinds of fish, which if eaten, would cause death. In some parts of this zone the privilege of fishing in certain waters is reserved to the king; in other places fishing is interdicted to the common people two out of every three days, and whoever contravenes this prohibition, will surely be devoured by a crocodile. In some localities yams are not allowed to be eaten until the chief has had the first taste of them; and in other localities white hens are considered sacred and are killed only for sacrificial purposes.[1] Miss Kingsley says that, in Calabar, each person is under a multitude of restrictions as to his kind of food, method of eating, and so forth.[2] Such customs, together with the fictions that support them, very likely arise from the scarcity of certain kinds of foods and the desire of the ruling classes to have a monopoly of them, and when such customs are once established they are generally perpetuated as a means of keeping up class distinctions. In civilized societies they are enacted into what are known as sumptuary laws, a good account of which may be found in Roscher's "Political Economy."

Yam Customs.—Yam Customs are held in this zone twice a year; once when the crop is planted in December, and again when it is ripe in September. They are always occasions of great freedom and result in unsettling law and order for days.[3] No one may eat yam until the September festival, which lasts two weeks, during which a criminal is sometimes sacrificed as a thank offering.[4] These festivals probably originated from an effort to propitiate the evil spirits that bring about the destruction of crops; but in the course of time the propitiatory motive came to be supplanted by the feeling of thanks to the spirits for having

[1] Featherman, p. 140. [2] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 309.
[3] Kingsley "West African Studies," p. 149.
[4] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 229.

protected the crops, and a desire, perhaps, to prevent people from digging up the yams before they mature.

Familial Customs.—Ceremonies in connection with the family life are very manifold. First is the marriage ceremony, which is observed everywhere in Africa with a good deal of *fanfare*,[1] the chief features of which are the drinking much palm wine, and feasting and dancing until late at night.[2] It arises from a desire to enhance one's prestige and influence in the community. The ability of the man to buy a wife and the triumph of the girl in being chosen from among many, lead to a desire in both bride and groom to advertise their good fortune to the public; and the greater the demonstration the more the public is inclined to pay homage to the contracting parties. After the marriage, the ceremonies to be observed in the family circle, are limited almost entirely to certain obeisances to be performed by the wife. Whenever she approaches her husband she must get on her knees[3] and crawl on her all-fours. She eats apart from him and after he has had his fill. Even the wives of kings are not exempt from these humiliating requirements. In Dahomi when the king used to go for a walk, several of his wives would hold an umbrella over him to protect his complexion from the burning rays of the sun, and if perchance a few drops of sweat trickled down his face, one of his wives would delicately wipe them off with her handkerchief.[4] The motive of these humiliating performances is to maintain the absolute authority of the husband, and to keep the woman perpetually reminded of her inferiority and subordination.

In the heyday of Dahomi, certain ceremonies had for their object to prevent the wives of the king from carrying on flirtations with the other sex. The rule was that every man should turn out of the road whenever he met one of the king's wives. He was required not only to turn aside but to

[1] Foa, p. 189. [2] Hawkins, p. 109. [3] Foa, p. 245. [4] Wood, p. 643.

turn his back until she had passed out of sight. Her approach was always announced by a female slave who preceded her and jingled a bell.[1]

Ceremonies of respect on part of children for their parents are observed in this zone only in a few places for the reason that there is little authority exercised over children. The children in most cases belong to the mother and not to the father, and there are no ceremonies of respect to fathers except where descent is traced in the male line.

In Dahomi, for example, where primogeniture prevailed among the ruling classes, a child was obliged to kneel to speak to its father, and when grown to treat him as one of the great men of the country.[2] A similar ceremony of respect was shown by the younger to the elder brother.[3]

Ceremonies and Customs to Denote Class Distinctions.—As soon as society becomes divided into castes and classes there arise appropriate ceremonies and customs having for their object to distinguish the higher from the lower orders, and especially to prevent the lower from encroaching upon the higher. Generally the more arbitrary and rigid the division into classes, the greater and more humiliating the ceremonies. In Dahomi all subjects used to prostrate themselves in the presence of the king, and any one who received a message from him was made to get down on his knees and kiss the ground.[4] In the Niger region every one bends the knee slightly in passing a superior, and as a mark of great respect men prostrate themselves and strike their heads against the ground. Slaves salute their master the first thing in the morning, prostrate themselves before him and make flattering speeches.[5] When one chief visits another, he who receives the visitor if of a higher rank, remains seated: if of equal or lower rank, he rises and embraces the visitor or prostrates himself at his feet.[6]

[1] Duncan, Vol. I, p. 257. [2] Foa, p. 245. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Duncan, Vol. I, p. 218. [5] Allen and Thomson, Vol. I, p. 392. [6] Foa, p. 246.

Special privileges and proscriptions of dress have always been and are everywhere enforced by primitive governments to preserve class distinctions. For example, the Dahomi government decreed that certain fabrics and colors might be worn only by the royal family. Any subject who dared to wear cloth used by the king was fined.[1] Only the king and officers of State could use an umbrella,[2] and only the aristocratic class could use stools, wooden doors and long pipes.[3] Similar regulations prevailed in Ashanti.[4]

Regal Spectacular.—Referring to the kingdom of Benin in the seventeenth century Ogilby said, "By the king's Order yearly Festivals are kept, in Commemoration of the deceased kings; wherein they make horrible Sacrifices of Men and Beasts, to the number of four or five hundred, but never more than three and twenty in a day, most of them Malefactors who have deserv'd Death and reserv'd in the Trunk of a Tree for this Time. But if it happen that there be not Malefactors, then the king, to compleat the number, sends for some of his Servants in the Evening into the Streets to take all those that go without Lights and bring them into the Prison. If the surprised be a poor or idle person, he must expect no favor, but hurried to prison, soon receives his doom; but a rich Man may redeem himself."[5]

In Dahomi and Ashanti the inauguration or demise of a king was the occasion of much pomposity. A new king was ushered into office by a great *fête*, consisting of a parade of the military forces, dancing, singing and carousing. When a king died in Dahomi the impressiveness of the funeral ceremony was enchanced by placing on the parade grounds several thousand human skulls[6] and by beheading several hundred human beings to accompany the deceased into the

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 171. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 171.
[3] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 126; Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 171.
[4] Brackenbury, p. 331. [5] P. 477. [6] Duncan, Vol. 2, p. 275.

other world. And in addition to the great celebration on the occasion of each king's death, public festivals, called customs, were held annually in honor of all of the kings that had gone to the other country. At these customs many fresh victims were sacrificed in order to replenish the royal retinues of the other world. Describing one of these customs in Dahomi, Wood says that the reigning king, decked in all of his finery, appeared on a high platform surrounded by his favorite wives, while below him were throngs of people, who scrambled for the cowries thrown at their feet. The sacrificial victims were now brought forward, each being gagged in order to prevent him from crying out to the king for mercy. . . . They were firmly secured by being lashed inside of a basket so that they could move neither head, hand nor foot; . . . the king arose and with his own hand and foot pushed one of the victims off the platform into the midst of the crowd below, where he was torn limb from limb, while around each portion of the still quivering body a mass of infuriated Negroes were fighting like so many infuriated dogs over a bone.[1] Canot mentions in connection with one of these customs that a short distance from the palace was an enclosure nine feet high, surrounded by a pile of briars, within which were fastened to stakes fifty captives who had been selected for the immolation. The ceremony began by a parade of the Amazons before the king after which, at a given signal, they leaped over the briar enclosure, lacerating their flesh, and each seizing a captive and dragging him to the feet of the king. Then began the work of chopping off the captives' heads.[2] Those who preferred to commit suicide were permitted to do so after which their bodies were thrown into a big reservoir. Sometimes such ceremonies were enlivened by a cannibal feast which filled the air with the aroma of roasted human flesh.[3] It is said that as many as 500 human beings were

[1] Wood, p. 651. [2] P. 268. [3] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 262.

sacrificed at the grand custom of 1791.[1] A great festival was always held before going to war. It lasted sometimes a month with the usual dancing, singing and decapitation.[2]

Similar festivities used to take place among the Ashantis, and in addition to the regularly appointed celebrations, the king, now and then, when the mood struck him, would cut off the heads of a few of his subjects just to show his generosity in keeping up the supply of servants for his deceased royal kin. It often happened when he was carousing late at night, drinking much palm wine and listening to the stories of his wives, that he would send for his ancestors' stool and wash it with the blood of two or three of his subjects. An officer always tapped a drum whenever an execution took place, and the music of this instrument was likely to be heard at any time of day or night.[3] The king often made a great demonstration on the occasion of receiving at his court any distinguished visitors. For example, when Mr. Bowdich of the royal African Company visited the capital in 1817[4] there was a magnificent parade of 30,000 warriors, a great display of gold, of grand costumes and other things calculated to astonish the spectators. The most interesting feature of the parade, perhaps, was a person undergoing torture preparatory to his execution. He was led by a cord passed through his nose and he had his back full of gashes, one ear cut off, three knives sticking in his flesh, one thrust through both of his cheeks and one under each shoulder blade. The exhibition of military

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 307.

[2] Forbes, Vol. 1, p. 19.

[3] Brackenbury, p. 334.

[4] The Royal African Company entered into contract in 1689 to supply the Spanish West Indies with slaves—but in 1713 the English government granted a monopoly of the trade to the Royal Assiento under treaty with Spain. This must have put the Royal African Company out of business for a time, but it may have continued to trade in other than human merchandise or may have resumed the slave trade after the Assiento dissolved and the trade was thrown open in 1749; Gomer Williams, "Liverpool Privateers," London, 1897, p. 466; Bandinel, "Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa," London, 1842, p. 624.

power and cruelty was intended to impress the crowd, and especially the strangers present, of the danger of incurring the displeasure of the great Ashanti king.[1]

At the end of military campaigns the Ashanti generals usually sent to the capital the dried and smoked jaw-bones of the men slain in battle, for there was an unwritten law that the army could not return to the capital without trophies. In case of an unsuccessful campaign the army would dig up some of the jaw-bones of their own people who had been offered in sacrifice to the gods, and substitute them for the trophies of slain enemies.[2]

Palatial Spectacular.—Scarcely anything is more impressive among primitive people than a large and gaudy edifice, and the kings and princes are not slow to realize this fact. The king's palace at Dahomi consisted of a village of separate houses, enclosed by a wall, of which the top was ornamented with thousands of human skulls.[3] The interiors of the houses were embellished with all of the articles of wealth of which the country could boast, as well as with a great quantity of European furniture, utensils and bric-à-brac. One human skull surmounted the king's staff-of-office and three human skulls supported his foot-stool.

Spectacular in Dress.—Another manifestation of the spectacular life is shown in the costumes of the privileged classes. Of course, the most gaudily dressed person in any State is the king. The quantity of gold and ivory, in the form of rings, bracelets, necklaces and what not usually displayed on an African Monarch is, to say the least, amazing. His garments are of the finest native fabrics, to which are often added the richest silks, velvets and other stuffs of Europe. Describing the dress of the Ashanti king in 1873 Stanley said, "A tunic of crimson velvet covers his body, his loose Moorish pantaloons are made of the same stuff, a

[1] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 248.
[2] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 267.
[3] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 219.

broad band of gold encircles his waist, a cap or turban of silk, richly embroidered, covers his head: his weapons are decorated profusely with the precious metal."[1] Lander described the dress of an Ibo king as consisting of a cap of a sugar-loaf shape, covered with strings of coral and pieces of broken looking-glass: a Spanish surtout, rather too short; gold epaulettes, and front overspread with gold lace: fourteen bracelets on each wrist, and coat-sleeves torn off to show them: trousers of same material as coat, but cut off to expose his leg-bracelets and a string of brass bells that encircled his ankles. Thus splendidly clothed, Obio smiling at his own magnificence, vain of the admiration that was paid him by his attendants, flattered by the presence of white men, who, he imagined, were struck with amazement at the splendor of his appearance, shook his feet for his bells to tingle and sat down with the utmost self-complaisance and looked around him.[2]

The Dahoman priests and priestesses always wear some kind of peculiar costume, and otherwise make their persons odd and conspicuous. They shave one-half of their heads and leave the other half to grow long tufts of hair. The head-dress of the priests is usually a white cap, while the priestesses decorate their heads with a rich array of feathers, beads and cowries.[3]

Ceremonies Arising from Sycophancy.—Certain practices owe their origin in this zone to sycophancy. Without any initiative perhaps on part of the king, his subjects or inferiors seek in all possible ways to flatter him and magnify his greatness. They fawn at his feet and lavish upon him thousands of complimentary phrases and thousands of little attentions, with the hope of receiving some crumbs from his royal table, or of escaping some exaction. Illustrations of ceremonies of this kind may be found in all of the kingdoms

[1] "Coomassie," p. 64. [2] Vol. 2, p. 214.
[3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 146.

of this zone, but especially in those of Ashanti and Dahomi. During the public processions in Ashanti it was the custom for all of the important chiefs to be followed by a group of parasites whose business it was to proclaim in boisterous song the great deeds of their masters.[1] Whenever the king took a drink an attendant who always followed him held a bowl under his chin to catch the royal drippings.[2] When the king's mother went abroad she was sometimes carried in a basket, followed by slaves who suspended large fans over her head as protection from the glare of the sun.[3] If the Dahoman king happened to sneeze while holding court, the whole assembly would burst into shouts of benedictions, or if he took a drink in public, drums would be beaten, guns fired, rattles shaken and all of the courtiers would bend to the ground and clap their hands.[4] Many a modern sycophant who fawns at the feet of his social, political or economic master, may see in this African mirror a true image of himself.

Religious Ceremonies.—Religious ceremonies vary in amount according to the density of population and the extent of the development of a priesthood. They arise from the same motives as the political ceremonies. The fetichman or priest in order to impress the public with his superhuman powers, goes through a lot of gymnastical performances, and dresses himself in the most astonishing paraphernalia, and when called upon to officiate on public occasions, he seeks to magnify his functions by as much display of ceremony as possible. All of this appeals to his vanity and increases his control over the masses. His whole life being devoted to the manipulation of the people, and other-world spirits, he is naturally inclined to envelop himself and his practice in as much mystery as possible. He has his incantations for naming children, and for initiation

[1] Freeman, p. 148. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 130. [3] Brackenbury, p. 331.
[4] Wood, p. 643; Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 222.

into manhood. He officiates at public sacrifices, at the feasts of the harvest, and of the new moon, at the mask dance and at the solemnities over the dead.[1]

Ceremonies of Civility Among Equals.—The general intercourse among equals everywhere is accompanied by more or less ceremony if only in the nature of a word of greeting. In Dahomi when two persons meet each claps his hands three times as a polite salutation.[2] Along the Niger in certain places, the people ask about each other's health and wish each other blessings and prosperity, accompanying the words of greeting by snapping their fingers. When women chance to meet, each kneels, pretending to pour sand alternately upon her right and left arm. Viewed from a distance they are said to look like two dogs pointing.[3] Formalities of this kind arise from motives of self-protection. In the encounter of strangers upon the highways it is necessary to have some signal of peace or good will before approaching, and the amount of ceremony depends upon the amount of danger.

In many places it is the custom in offering water or wine to a stranger for the host to drink first as proof that it is not poisoned.[4]

The writer hopes, in another volume, to go more fully into the origin of ceremonies of civility, although Spencer has already covered the subject in a way that leaves little to be said.[5]

[1] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 369.
[2] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 248.
[3] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 392.
[4] Bouche, p. 69.
[5] "Principles of Sociology," Vol. 2, Part 4.

CHAPTER XXII

CUSTOMS, CEREMONIES AND SPECTACULAR IN THE MILLET, CATTLE AND CAMEL ZONES

Millet Zone.—In the millet zone the customs, ceremonies and spectacular displays are much the same as in the banana zone except where the people are influenced by the Mohammedan religion. Marriages are everywhere celebrated with about the same sort of noise and shaking of feet. A peculiar kind of etiquette among the Yorubas requires that when a betrothed girl meets in the streets any of the wives of her fiancé, she must salute them by falling on her knees.[1] Wives must prostrate themselves before their husbands, and sons must prostrate before their mothers and senior female relatives.[2] At the court of Samory, the death penalty used to be visited upon any man who showed any politeness to the king's wives. If a man met one of them it was his duty to turn out of the road.[3] In all of the important kingdoms of this zone the subjects are required to prostrate themselves before the king. In Yoruba after sprawling before his majesty the subjects must rise and clap their hands.[4] Public ceremonies of one kind or another are very common, but not so often attended with human sacrifices. Yam customs are held almost universally and also celebrations in honor of the new moon.[5] The Mandingos believe that every new moon is newly created and when it first appears they offer prayers of thanks to Allah, at the conclusion of which, they spit in their hands and rub the saliva over their faces.[6] The Jack-a-Jacks used to celebrate

[1] Bowen, p. 304.
[2] Campbell, p. 56.
[3] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 159.
[4] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 167.
[5] Staudinger, p. 566.
[6] Featherman, p. 308.

great events by sacrificing a few slaves and drinking a few hundred gallons of rum.[1] Everywhere funerals are occasions of great demonstrations, and people often pawn or sell their children to meet the expenses of the ceremony.[2]

Among the ceremonies arising from sycophancy, it may be mentioned that, when the Mossi king drinks, sneezes, blows his nose or spits, his attendants always pop their fingers,[3] indicating that the king can do nothing unworthy of the admiration of his subjects.

In the matter of gorgeous palaces and costumes the people of this zone are fully up to anything of the kind in the other zones. They are also fully up in ceremonies indicative of class distinctions. In Borgu inferiors prostrate themselves full length before their superiors. When women meet a superior, they fall on their knees and elbows, holding their hands open and turned upward.[4] In Yoruba when a superior meets an inferior, the latter puts aside his burden, kneels on all-fours, then sprawls upon the ground and covers himself with dust. If equals meet they squat and pop their fingers. In some places people salute by saying "Good morning," and striking their thigh or leg with their right hand.[5] It is said that in Yoruba each citizen spends upon the average an hour per day rendering and receiving homage.[6] Among some tribes drinking water together or sharing kola-nuts together is a sign of good fellowship.[7] At Kano the form of salute is that each individual place his hands upon his breast, bow and ask "How have you passed the heat of the day?" The Negroes of that city, says Clapperton, are excessively polite and ceremonious.[8]

Cattle Zone.—In the cattle zone customs, ceremonies and

[1] *Journal of an African Cruiser*, p. 127.
[2] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 161. [3] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 451.
[4] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 107. [5] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 446.
[6] Wood, p. 661. [7] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 118; Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 243.
[8] "Second Expedition," p. 48.

spectacular displays are less numerous and less important than in the lower zones, while human sacrifices as an element in them are almost entirely absent. Ceremonies of marriage and court etiquette are about the same as in the other zones. In Bornu as soon as the courtiers have made their obeisances, they seat themselves on the ground with their backs towards the monarch. Nearly three hundred people thus took their places when Denham and Clapperton were received at the Bornu court.[1] The Mohammedan Fellatahs greet each other by the Arab salutation meaning "peace be to you," which is replied to by saying, "to you be peace." The pagan Fellatahs salute each other "by joining the palms of their right hand, and drawing them off towards the extremity of the fingers, they snap these together."[2] Formalities of greeting in some localities are very novel if not altogether dignified. For example, when the Senaarian women meet a chief in the streets they must take off their sandals and walk barefooted;[3] and among the Dinkas, when two people meet in the road, etiquette requires that they spit on each other.[4] This spitting salutation is very common in East Africa.[5]

Public ceremonies in this zone are mostly in accordance with the Mohammedan traditions, although celebrations of the new moon and of the beginning of the rainy season are generally held by the unconverted.[6] Ceremonies arising from sycophancy are not so common in this zone as in the others, but they are sufficiently common and ridiculous in some localities. Among the Foorians, when the sultan spits, an attendant wipes up the royal saliva with his hand; and when he coughs, all of the retinue make a peculiar clicking sound with their tongues.[7] The funeral customs closely resemble those of the other zones. Among the

[1] Wood, p. 690. [2] Featherman, p. 371. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 790.
[4] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 380. [5] Thomson, p. 443.
[6] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 10. [7] Featherman, p. 737.

Sienre, when any one dies, an old woman comes and washes the corpse and places it upon a mat in the largest hut, and then musicians with flutes, tam tams, and stringed instruments play night and day without interruption for several days, and in the meantime the people feast, dance and make merry. The dance is seen at best about midnight when men decorated with vulture and chicken feathers, shuffle amazingly, and the girls in frenzy of excitement jump up and strike their buttocks with their heels.[1]

Camel Zone.—Not much is known about the ceremonies among the Tibbus, and the reader must be content with scant details. "When two acquaintances meet in the street," says Featherman, "they sit down about ten steps distant from each other, holding their spear in their hand in an erect posture, after which they exchange words of salutation, repeating them several times if they wish to be particularly courteous. Polite compliments are addressed to the visitor, both on his arrival and departure which are responded to in proper style."[2] Dancing is sometimes a mode of greeting for a hero or guest of honor who is met by the women with dances and songs just as Jephthah's daughter met her victorious father and the women of Israel met David after he had killed Goliath.[3] However, public celebrations are not so much occasions of merrymaking with song and dance as pretexts for extempore recitations and verbal contention.[4]

General Considerations.—A general review of the customs, ceremonies and spectacular exhibitions designed to exercise control over the people, seems to support the conclusion drawn by Spencer in his general investigation of ceremonies[5] that such control is the most primitive of all means of regulating conduct and that it always precedes the

[1] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 222.
[2] P. 754.
[3] Wood, p. 705.
[4] Reclus, Vol. 2, pp. 424, 428.
[5] "Principles of Sociology," Vol. 1, Chapter 12.

organization of government and paves the way for it. Ceremonial control seems to bear a close relation to the degree of political and social inequality despotically maintained, and to the extent of ignorance, superstition, unsociability, and lack of spirit among the people. The greatest amount of ceremonial control is found in the banana zone, where there is greatest despotism, inequality, stupidity and abjectness; and the least amount of such control is in the camel zone, where there is the least despotism and greatest spirit of independence. Elaborate formalities and rigid codes of etiquette are found everywhere in societies which despotically maintain artificial inequalities. They are a natural development to reduce friction. "Of Japanese, living for these many centuries under an unmitigated despotism," says Spencer, "castes severely restricted, sanguinary laws, and a ceremonial system rigorous and elaborate, there has arisen a character which while described by Mr. Rundell as haughty, vindictive, and licentious, yet prompts a behavior admirable in its suavity.[1] Mr. Cornwallis asserts that amiability and an unruffled temper are the universal properties of the women in Japan; and by Mr. Drummond they are credited with a natural grace which is impossible to describe. Among the men, too, the sentiment of honor, based upon that regard for reputation to which ceremonial observance largely appeals, carries them to great extreme of consideration. Another verifying fact is furnished by another despotically governed and highly ceremonious society, Russia. Custine says: 'If fear renders the men serious, it also renders them extremely polite. I have never elsewhere seen so many men of all classes treating each other with such respect.' Kindred, if less pronounced, examples of this connection are to be found in Western countries. The Italian, long subject to tyrannical rule, and

[1] The author of this book does not think that the Japanese are exceptionally licentious.

in danger of his life if he excites the vengeful feelings of a fellow citizen, is distinguished by his conciliatory manner. In Spain, where governmental dictation is unlimited, where women are harshly treated, and where 'no laborer ever walks outside his door without his knife,' there is extreme politeness. Contrariwise, our own people, long living under institutions which guard them against serious consequences from giving offense, greatly lack suavity, and show a comparative inattention to minor civilities." [1]

As artificial inequalities come to disappear from political and social life, artificial formalities will also disappear, leaving only such ceremonies and etiquette among men as arise spontaneously from mutual esteem. The sham-politeness will disappear like the paint and powder from the face of the sham-beauty when she comes to have real charms, revealing the natural color and play of emotion.

Religious ceremonies, as the political and social, arise from the conception of a despotic ruler who is an object of terror, and as the idea of God comes to be more that of a real father and the people come to place more value upon inward grace than outward show, there ensue a simplicity and genuineness in religious, as in political and social, forms of expressing adoration and esteem. The more men place value upon their moral worth, the more they shrink from any kind of mere formality. Much formality coagulates the spirit.

Spectacular exhibitions in political and social life belong to the childhood of the race and will diminish in proportion as people learn to appreciate the intrinsic merit of things and to depreciate the mere extrinsic manifestation of them. The modern craving for display of every kind, especially of luxury in dress, house furnishings, entertainments and general surroundings is the opposite of that which leads to

[1] "Principles of Sociology," Vol. 2, p. 222.

true culture and refinement; for the more the inner life of man is enriched, the more simple become his tastes in reference to the outward aspect of things, the fewer his material wants and the more he is sickened by the ostentation and vulgarity of opulence. "The fewer one's wants," says De Laveleye, "the more one is free to follow the dictates of duty, the less one is likely to be influenced by the promptings of cupidity in important matters such as the choice of a career, of a wife, or of a political party. . . . Let us have the courage to set up as models, Socrates, whose vigorous frame, when in the army, endured heat, cold and fatigue better than the veterans, and who being without wants, lived only for philosophy and justice; or, again, St. Paul, enduring without shrinking every kind of trial—imprisonment, stripes, shipwreck, poverty, 'many deaths'—for the service of truth. The soul of an apostle in a frame of iron,—this is what we must hold up to the admiration of our age, and the imitation of our rising generation; not the pursuit of an over-refined luxury for the pampering of enervated tastes, and senses blunted by satiety." [1]

[1] "Luxury," London, 1891, p. 76.

CHAPTER XXIII

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE BANANA ZONE

Definition of Religion.—As religion is defined in a great variety of ways, it is necessary to explain in what sense it is used in this book. A definition covering all religions would seem to be that of the conception of one or of several spiritual personalities supposed to have some kind of control over man's life. In its lowest form religion is the conception of multitudinous spiritual personalities (animism) and in its highest form it is the conception of a single spiritual personality. Superstition is the attribution of occult powers to some special phenomenon which has been ascertained to be governed by natural law. As the savage knows little of natural law, he attributes everything to supernatural agency; and as the civilized man knows much of natural law, he attributes to supernatural agency or to special interference of Providence, few things which do not lie strictly outside of the regular play of forces which God has revealed and designed that man should obey. All religions still retain some element of superstition; for up to the present time, many of the most enlightened Christians continue to attribute to divine intervention many things which science has demonstrated to be the result of invariable natural law. From the European point of view, the African religion is mostly superstition, but it is nevertheless religion because of its personality conceptions.

Fundamental Conceptions.—In the first place let us inquire, How do conceptions of the spirit world enter into the mind of the African? Situated in a country where there are earthquakes, volcanoes, thunder, lightning, wild beasts, poisonous reptiles and many diseases and deaths, how is he

to explain all this? How is he to account for the movements of the sun and stars and the clouds? How is he to account for the growth of trees, fruits, and flowers or the actions of animals? There is only one possible explanation and that is that everything that moves or lives is a kind of personality or spirit. If the wind blows it is the hurrying of some spirit; if the ocean lashes itself into fury it is the writhing of some spirit; if the lightning hisses it is the breath of some spirit, and if the sun and moon traverse the heavens it is because they are real beings traveling through the air. Thus everything animate or inanimate can be explained only upon the supposition of its being a living, intelligent spirit or an object inhabited by a spirit.

In the next place, what would naturally be the attitude of the African towards these spirits? He would at first fear them, and later seek to pacify them, coax them, beg them or bribe them by offering food and drink, and if this did not calm their temper he would offer them his dearest friend, or even his own child.

In fact, the African religion is in all respects only that which one would naturally expect it to be from *a priori* considerations.

All Phenomena Animated by Spirits.—The people of the banana zone believe that all phenomena are the result of indwelling spirits. As they are conscious that their own actions are the result of their own individual intelligence, they naturally infer that all other things must move or act by a similar intelligence. Their idea of spirits is a mere reflection of their idea of their own personality.

Idea of Double Personality.—For example, among the Tshi tribes every man believes that he is a double personality, *i. e.*, has two spirits residing in him. Proof of this he finds in the phenomenon of dreams, the reality of which he does not question.[1] When a man dreams he feels convinced

[1] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 151.

that he often goes off on a long journey, meets friends and enemies, and has a hunt or fight with them. When he awakes he learns by inquiry that the men he had met in his dream were not really present and participating in the events dreamed of, but were at home and asleep in their beds. He therefore concludes that men must have a double self, one which can lie asleep and another which can go abroad and act in the most independent and irresponsible manner.

Sometimes a dreaming man sees people who have been dead and buried, and not doubting the reality of the dream,[1] he concludes that one of the two spirits that dwell in a man must survive after death and move about among the living.[2] Perhaps another proof to him of his double personality is found in the fact that each man has a shadow which he sees following him about upon the ground or in the water. And still another proof to him is that when any one calls out in a loud voice he hears an echo, which is interpreted as the answering of the other spirit.[3]

The Body Soul and the Dream Soul.—The Tshi people believe that one of these indwelling spirits corresponds to a man's physical body, and that after death it leaves through the mouth, wanders about awhile as a ghost or vagabond soul, and finally goes to Dead Land.[4] The other spirit called the kra is not so inseparably connected with a man's body, since it comes in and goes out at pleasure. A peculiarity of this spirit is that it can sojourn successively in an indefinite number of living beings. In the case of any particular man, it is believed that it has existed previously in other men, and that after his death it will live in still other men or in sundry kinds of animals. This kra always enters and goes out by way of a man's mouth and is liable to do so at the most undesirable moments. Now, in any

[1] Featherman, p. 229; Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 151.
[2] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 102.
[3] Lander, Vol. 2, p. 259.
[4] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 107.

community, there are many of these kras flitting about, and when any one of them has left its dwelling place and gone off on an excursion, a strange kra may creep into the vacant dwelling and cause mischief. The kra usually escapes from a man when he is asleep and it is then also that a strange one most often ventures in. Hence people are careful not to sleep with their mouths open.[1] Sometimes they find it necessary to wear a muzzle over their mouths to prevent their kras from escaping and to bar out intruders. On one occasion Miss Kingsley was very much astonished to find a Negro sleeping under a thick blanket and with a handkerchief tied over his face. "It was a hot night," she says, "and the man and his blanket were as wet as if they had been dragged through a river. I suggested to the headman that the handkerchief muzzle should come off, and was informed by him that for several nights previously the man had dreamed of that savory dish, craw-fish seasoned with red pepper. He had become anxious and had consulted the headman, who decided that undoubtedly some witch was setting a trap for his dream-soul with this bait, with intent, and so forth. Care was now being taken to, as it were, keep the dream-soul at home. I, of course, did not interfere and the patient completely recovered." [2] In case the dream-soul or kra succeeds in making its escape great anxiety is felt for its safe return. "It is this way," says Miss Kingsley. "The dream-soul is, to put it mildly a silly, flighty thing. Off it goes when its owner is taking a nap and gets so taken up with skylarking, fighting or gossiping with other dream-souls that it sometimes does not come home to its owner when he is waking up. So, if any one has to wake a man up, great care must always be taken that it is done softly—softly, namely, gradually and quietly, so as to give the dream-soul time to come home. . . . We will take an example. A man has been suddenly roused by

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 107. [2] "West African Studies," p. 176.

some cause or other before that dream-soul has had time to get into quarters. That human being feels very ill, and sends for the witch-doctor. The medical man diagnoses the case as one of absence of dream-soul, instantly claps a cloth over the mouth and nose, and gets his assistant to hold it there until the patient gets hard on to suffocation: but no matter, it's the proper course of treatment to pursue. The witch-doctor himself gets ready as rapidly as possible, another dream-soul, which if he is a careful medical man, he has brought with him in a basket. Then the patient is laid on his back and the cloth removed from the mouth and nose, and the witch-doctor holds over them his hands containing the fresh soul, blowing hard at it so as to get it well into the patient. If this is successful the patient recovers." [1] When a kra is belated in coming home, it is sometimes because it is being pursued by other kras, and the awaking person finds it necessary to fire off a gun to scare them away.[2] In daylight the kra sometimes follows people about in the form of a shadow, and lest it should get away, they avoid walking on the shady side of a street. Furthermore a shadow is not only liable to get lost, but to get injured or killed. Alligators, for instance, sometimes pull a man into a river by seizing his shadow, and "murders are sometimes committed by secretly driving a nail or knife into a man's shadow, and so on, but if the murderer be caught red-handed at it, he or she would be forthwith killed." [3]

The Kra Goes to Dead Land But May Return as a New-Born Infant.—When a man dies his kra at once becomes a sisa which is supposed to take up its abode in Dead Land or the land of insisa (plural of sisa) beyond the Volta River. But the sisa is not always in a hurry to get there. It sometimes persists in lingering about its old place or residence, thereby causing sickness or other unpleasant-

[1] "West African Studies," p. 171.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 174.
[3] Kingsley, "West African Studies," p. 176.

ness. In such case a witch doctor has to be called in to induce it to move on to Dead Land. But even after all of the trouble and expense in coaxing or driving it away, it can and often does return and take lodgment in the bosom of some unfortunate man in the absence of his kra,[1] or if the sisa is not seeking revenge, it may come back into the world as the kra of a new-born infant.[2] In the Niger Delta, says Miss Kingsley, the spirit of the dead always comes back in the form of a new babe.[3] Its reappearance may be in the guise of a male or female, a slave or freeman; and the amount of wealth taken out by the deceased spirit determines its rank upon coming back in another person. Usually parents can tell from the likeness or actions of an infant who it is that has come back to life. The first thing that it notices upon being shown a collection of articles determines its identity. "Why he's uncle John, see, he knows his own pipe."[4] But if parents are in doubt as to the identity, they sometimes send to Yoruba for a celebrated diviner, who, on account of his intimate acquaintance with the sexual god Ifa, is an expert in this particular matter and never makes a mistake.[5]

The Ewe people of this zone have the same notion of a double personality. Their indwelling spirit, called luwo corresponds to the kra of the Tshi people and causes no less trouble.[6]

Notion of Double Personality Among Civilized People.— It would be well for the reader to remember that this notion of a double personality is not an exclusively African product, but is found among savage people in many parts of the world, and even among civilized people, not a few of whom, with scholarly attainments, have written books to demonstrate its reality. Mason in his "Telepathy and the Subliminal

[1] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 150.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Travels in West Africa," p. 343.
[4] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 344.
[5] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 115.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

Self," says that in cases of hypnotic trance, in somnambulism, etc., there is a manifestation of double consciousness; and that "there are weighty proofs that such a secondary or subliminal, or if you choose so to designate it, supra-normal self, actually exists, and that it exhibits functions and powers far exceeding the functions and powers of the ordinary self. We have seen it expressing its own personal opinions, its own likes and dislikes, quite different and opposite to the opinions, likes and dislikes of the ordinary self." [1] Mason also agrees with the Africans that actual occurrences may be seen by persons far away "in the dreams and visions of ordinary sleep, in reverie and in various subjective conditions." [2] "Again it has been demonstrated," he says, "that some persons can voluntarily project the mind . . . a distance of one, a hundred or a thousand miles and that it can there make itself known and recognized, perform acts and even carry on a conversation with the person to whom it is sent. That is, mind can act at a distance from and independent of the physical body and the organs through which it usually manifests itself." [3] Another celebrated champion of the double personality is Gurney, who believes that phantasms, impressions, voices or figures of persons undergoing some crisis, especially death, are actually perceived by their friends and relatives, and he cites numerous cases where a man's soul has left his body and appeared visible to people many miles away.[4] He mentions the famous case of Laura Fleming, whose dream soul went off and witnessed the death of her husband as he was thrown from a horse.[5] An idea much like that of the African kra is presented by Myers in his book "Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death." "I hold," he says, "that certain manifestations of central individualities,

[1] "Telepathy and The Subliminal Self," New York, 1897, p. 258.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 317.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 318.
[4] "Phantasms of The Living," Vol. 1, p. 109.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 339.

associated now or formerly with definite organisms, have been observed in operation apart from those organisms, both while the organisms were still living and after they had decayed."[1] Sidis also believes in the double personality and has written much in its favor.[2] Even some of our most orthodox psychologists lend some encouragement to this idea, at least, they go so far as to admit a double consciousness. For example, James says that we "are forced to admit that a part of consciousness may sever its connections with other parts and yet continue to be."[3] But let us return to Africa.

A peculiarity of the Tshi people is that they do not limit the idea of double personality to human beings, but believe that all living things have a soul and a kra. Even a bush has two spirits and when it dies the soul goes to Dead Land, for there are bushes in Dead Land, and the kra enters a seedling and grows into another bush.

The reader should now be able to see the point of view and understand the fundamental basis of the Negro's religion. He should be able to imagine a world fairly swarming with spirits—spirits of dead men in the form of souls,—spirits of living men in the form of kras,—spirits of animals, trees, bushes, rocks, mountains, thunder and lightning and so forth, and the number of spirits everywhere exceeding the number of human beings. Nearly all of the spirits are malicious and continually meddling in all of the affairs of the people, so that it takes about all of a man's time and cunning to conjure them. Among civilized people the idea prevails that the mind of the African is idle and empty, but on the contrary it is in a perpetual ferment and never lacking in excitement, except during sleep, and even then it is often most busy. The spirits that inhabit the air,

[1] Vol. 1, p. 35. [2] "The Psychology of Suggestion," New York, 1898.
[3] "Principles of Psychology," Vol. 1, p. 213.

forests and waters of the Dark Continent play a real drama in the life of its people, and the whole fantastic spectacle is as if some Oberon from fairy-land had streaked their sleeping eyes with the juice of a magic flower.

CHAPTER XXIV

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE BANANA ZONE (*Continued*)

Spirits Take Part in Economic Activities.—With the general considerations contained in the previous chapter, the reader may now more clearly comprehend the vast influence which the religion of this zone exercises upon the economic, political and social life of the people. Except where the natives have been influenced by the missionaries it does not appear that the religious notions of the people have undergone any substantial change since the time of the first European explorers. In the first place, it is believed that spirits cause success or failure in all economic activities. In order to catch fish it is necessary that the spirits of the water be propitiated and won over by some kind of offering or pleasant speech. In many huts along the rivers little carved images of fish, in which some fish god dwells, are hung up or suspended to lines, and daily worshiped.[1] The king of the Brass River people, always before eating, was wont to offer a bit of his food and a drop of rum to the spirits of the water.[2] All spirits, of course, get hungry and thirsty and must be fed. Even amulets and charms partake of food and drink.[3] Success in hunting depends upon the strength and cunning of the spirits that dwell in the bows and arrows, in throw-sticks and so forth. If any weapon wears out, or misses its aim, it is because its spirit has gone away, or perhaps has been enticed away by some other spirit.[4] Even pots and utensils have spirits in them, and if

[1] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 201.
[2] Lander, Vol. 2, p. 242.
[3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 91.
[4] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 110.

one breaks it is on account of the departure of the spirit that held it together.[1] A certain spirit animates the fire that cooks the food, and therefore, it must be treated with respect, or it may get in a bad humor and do something terrible. Without the help of spirits the crops will not grow nor the fruits ripen. Usually the crop-protecting spirits are carried about in the form of amulets, which, of course, no good farmer would think of doing without. Spirits also engage in the occupation of gold mining. They are good enough to bring the gold from the bowels of the earth up to a place just below the surface where it may be dug out by man. The labor of bringing up this heavy metal, as one may easily imagine, is very fatiguing and the spirits sometimes call for assistance from the upper world. The needed help is always obtained by causing the mine to cave in on the men who dig the gold. Knowing that the spirits employ this method of obtaining workers, the people never attempt to rescue miners if the earth swallows them up.[2] Not infrequently spirits or deities act as regulators of commerce. For example, at Whydah, there used to be two local deities whose business it was to regulate the number of European trading ships that should cast anchor at that port.[3] The management of transportation is no less an affair in which the spirits take a lively interest, and no citizen would think of making a journey overland without their protection. In the interest of the public safety, the Dahomans at one time established depots, all along the public roads, where the invisible traffic managers had their offices. Whenever travelers arrived at one of these stations, an officer, or representative of the deities, came out to pronounce a blessing upon them and to beg for them a safe journey.[4] Transportation by water is also under the supervision of the

[1] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 110.
[2] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 69.
[3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 90.
[4] Freeman, p. 265.

spirits, and any neglect on part of a citizen to assure himself of their protection would be on par with the neglect of a European captain to insure his cargo against the hazards of the sea. Along the Niger River there are numerous spirits that will undertake for a small consideration to guarantee a safe passage.[1] Miss Kingsley says that canoemen may often be seen bending over a river and having a conversation with its spirit.[2] When going down the Niger, Lander noticed that the native boatmen were continually bawling through trumpets to the river fetich, and that the echo to the call was interpreted as the spirit's reply.[3] The canoeman sometimes threw into the water, as a tip to the fetich, a half glass of rum or a piece of yam.[4]

Spirits Meddle in Love and Family Affairs.—Spirits of various kinds busy themselves in the love affairs of the people, exciting the amorous impulses of the women, determining their fertility, and so forth. The Ewe people have a sex god, Legba, who makes a specialty of love projects, and whose inspirations everybody must obey. We are told that his temples are places of unlimited licentiousness.[5] Sterility is generally considered a curse inflicted by some one or other provoked spirit, and to ward off the curse, the spirit must be propitiated or somehow outdone. The Agni people have learned to coax away the sex spirit or in some way prevent it from causing sterility by wearing wooden dolls on their backs.[6] In many communities, as soon as a child is born, the witch doctor binds around its limbs certain spirit-inspired preparations, using at the same time a kind of incantation or prayer to fortify the child against all the ills that the flesh is heir to.[7] In the Niger Delta people regard twins as a curse and the mother of such is supposed to be

[1] Lander, Vol. 2, p. 178.
[2] "Travels in West Africa," p. 110.
[3] Vol. 2, p. 243.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 259.
[5] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," pp. 41, 44.
[6] Binger, Vol. 2, p. 230.
[7] Kingsley, "West African Studies," p. 147.

bewitched, or to have committed adultery with evil spirits.[1] The twins are summarily disposed of.[2] They "are taken by the feet and head, and have their backs broken against a native woman's knee, in the same manner as one would break a stick. The bodies are then placed in an earthenware receptacle and taken to the bush where they are devoured by the flies, insects or animals. . . . The mother becomes an outcast. If she does not take her own life she has to flee to the bush."[3] In some cases the mother of the twins is put to death,[4] and in others she is required to pass a long period of purification in a rude hut where no one dare sit or talk with her.[5] If infants, in the Niger region, cut their upper before their lower teeth it is a sign that they are bewitched,[6] and consequently they are at once killed. On account of the belief that deceased persons or their spirits, continue to live in another world, infants are frequently interred alive with their deceased mothers. Whenever the father of a family dies, it is deemed the proper thing to kill a few of his wives so that he may have agreeable companions in the other world.[7] Thanks to missionary efforts such customs in many districts are now abolished. In former times, in case of the demise of a king, the slaughter of his wives was sometimes carried on to the extent of several hundred; and strange to say, instead of objecting to such treatment, the wives were often anxious to be immolated,[8] and sometimes took their own lives. For instance, in 1789, when the Dahoman king, Adanza the Second, died, as many as 595 of his palace women destroyed themselves in their eagerness to follow him into the new kingdom to which he had gone to take possession. These

[1] Kingsley, "West African Studies," p. 125. [2] Ogilby, p. 472.
[3] *Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 12, n. s., p. 557.
[4] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 324.
[5] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 243. [6] *Ibid.*
[7] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 340.
[8] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 329.

facts seem to indicate that the affection of wives for their husbands is usually very strong, while that of husbands for their wives is very weak, since there is no instance of a husband's immolating himself upon the grave of his wife. The belief that the spirits of deceased people linger about their former places of abode, causing sickness and becoming a general nuisance, implies that the general feeling towards the dead is that of terror rather than of veneration; and therefore it would hardly be expected that ancestor worship would arise among a people whose deceased spirits were dreaded disseminators of disease. The nearest approximation to ancestor worship has been found in Ashanti and Dahomi where the bones and other memorials of the kings used to be, and perhaps are still, preserved in mausoleums.[1]

Spirit Activities in Political Affairs.—The whole political life of the people of this zone has been and is still to a considerable extent dominated by supernatural beings. It used to be said that every act of the king of Ashanti was in some way or other connected with fetichism.[2] In some cities the politically talented spirits assume the function of policeman, and have inaugurated a system of protecting property, which, for uniqueness, efficiency and economy, is ahead of anything that Paris, London or other great city has yet devised. The principal feature of the system is that each piece of property is provided with a kind of spirit-inspired charm, which inflicts violent punishment upon thieves without any trial or other troublesome and expensive process. For example, suppose that a Negro merchant has some palm-oil, bananas or other articles that he wishes to sell. He places them anywhere along the highways, under the protection of a charm, with a few cowries to indicate the price. He then goes on about his other business with perfect peace of mind; and if any thief should dare interfere with the goods,

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," pp. 25, 111. [2] Brackenbury, p. 334.

a kra, sisa, suhman or other varmint would leap out of the amulet, begin to gnaw upon his vitals and probably cause his death.[1]

Spirits Take Part in Judicial Proceedings.—In judicial proceedings the spirits or deities often serve as witnesses, judge and jury. For example, Lander relates that when King Boy, ruler of a certain Niger district, had a case in court, he would run through the town, stripped naked and hideously masked, crying Dju Dju and invoking the assistance of a certain deity in the examination of the accused.[2] The deity called upon usually concealed himself in some kind of poison which the accused was obliged to drink, and which acted fatally if the accused were guilty and harmlessly if he were innocent. Trials of this kind seem to be as common now as ever. Some of these judicial spirits reside in rivers and lakes and accused people must be brought there for trial. For example, the Togbo people of Ashanti throw the accused person into a river, and if he is guilty the river spirit will pull him under and drown him, but if innocent, it will cast him ashore.[3] At times the deities take matters in their own hands and condemn and punish people even before they have been accused. For example, the lightning god of the Ewe people occasionally discovers that a certain individual has slighted him or done some kind of wrong, and accordingly punishes him by setting fire to his house. The mere fact that the house is struck is *prima facie* evidence that the owner is guilty of some crime. Acting upon this presumption, the priests and a mob of people gather at the house of the unfortunate victim and steal and demolish everything not already destroyed, and in addition to this, impose a fine upon him for offending the deity. If the fine is not paid, the owner of the house and his family are imprisoned or sold into slavery. Ellis says, "It is not at all

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 92. [2] Lander, Vol. 2, p. 276.
[3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 85.

uncommon for a whole household to be enslaved in consequence of such an accident."[1] In 1863 the natives of a certain village were so enraged at a Catholic missionary who extinguished the flames of his own house that had been struck by lightning, that they required him to pay a fine to the priests as an offering to pacify the god.[2] When an individual has suffered any kind of wrong at the hand of his neighbor, instead of avenging it himself or appealing to the courts, he frequently negotiates with some local deity or spirit, who undertakes to punish the offender by taking his life or inflicting some other suitable punishment.[3]

In Diplomatic Affairs.—In the diplomatic affairs of Dahomi the spirits, especially of dead men, often played a very important rôle. For instance, it was often necessary to communicate important secrets to the rulers in the other world, which was accomplished by means of messengers, who, being selected by the king and fully instructed as to their mission and beheaded, proceeded then directly to Dead Land to deliver the message to the proper ancestor. About 500 messengers were thus annually slain to keep up this diplomatic correspondence.[4] Each messenger was provided with a piastre and a bottle of rum for the expenses of the journey.[5] Sometimes the Ashantis attempted to avert war or repel an invasion by a simple act of diplomacy on part of one of their ingenious deities. For example, on one occasion when an invasion of the Slave Coast was threatened by the European troops, the natives prevented it by merely offering a sheep to one of their deities which saw to it that no invasion took place.[6]

Spirits of the Dead Call for Food and Sacrifices.—When the kings of Benin, Dahomi, or Ashanti died and went to Dead Land, they changed their place of residence, but not at all

[1] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 39. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 75.
[4] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 137. [5] *Ibid.* [6] Brackenbury, p. 336.

their rank or mode of living, and it happened frequently that they were in need of supplies from this world. In order that they might not suffer, food was placed on their graves or otherwise provided for them, and human beings were sacrificed to become servants of the other world courts. "When a king dies," says Ogilby, writing in 1670, "a great Cave is digg'd in his Court, broad below, and narrow above, and so deep, that the Diggers must be drown'd in the water.

"In this Cave they put the Corps, and then all his Favorites and Servants appear to accompany and serve him in the other Life; and when they are gone down to the Corps in the Cave, they set a great stone over the Mouth, the people that day and night standing round about it.

"The next day some go to the Cave and removing the Stone, ask them within, What they do? and, If none be gone to serve the king? To which then perhaps nothing else is answered but, No.

"The third day they ask the same Question, and then sometimes receive answer, That such are the first, and those and those are the second, whom they highly praise and esteem happy.

"At length after four or five or more days, the Men dead, and none left to give answer, they give account thereof to the new establish'd King; who presently makes a great Fire over the Grave, whereat spending a great quantity of Flesh to give away to the Common-People, so solemnizeth his Inauguration.

"After the Cave stopp'd, many Men, as they pass along the Streets, and some in their own Houses, are struck down dead; whose Heads cover'd with a Cloth none dare remove, but so let it lie to be devour'd by Carnifferous Foul; which are of these two sorts, one call'd Goere, and the other Akalles." [1]

[1] P. 476.

The Ashantis built for their deceased monarchs a Bantama (Mausoleum) where food was cooked daily for their refreshment. In addition to the wives and slaves immolated on the occasion of a king's death, a fresh supply was slaughtered at intervals during the year to replenish the retinue. In Dahomi replenishing sacrifices of a similar kind were called the king's customs, which have already been described on another page. The slave trader Drake witnessed one of these customs at which he said not less than 500 boys and girls were sacrificed, some of whom were horribly tortured before being executed. He said, "One poor wretch had a knife passed through both cheeks and his two ears cut off and dangling from the blade and handle. A long spear was thrust under his shoulder-blades, through the tendons, and he was led along by this, bleeding like a bullock. . . . Then followed a young woman stark naked with both breasts cut smoothly off, and her hips and belly stuck full of arrows." There was no end to the horrid ingenuity of torture exhibited.[1] Ellis says that the number of sacrifices at one of the grand customs in 1860 was six hundred.[2] In Ashanti prior to 1873 at least 3,000 were annually sacrificed, and a case is on record where as many as 3,000 were immolated upon one royal tomb.[3]

Spirits as Military Strategists.—In time of war, spirits of varying degrees of importance responded cheerfully to the call to arms, and by their wisdom and strategy, determined the fate of opposing armies. The Dahomans had a war-god, Bo, who, although versed in all branches of military science would sometimes play into the hands of the enemy if not suitably bribed. This probably happened when the French overcame the Dahomans in 1893. In order to keep Bo true to the flag, the people used to set up images in his honor and offer him many sacrifices.[4] Whenever it was

[1] Drake, p. 95.
[2] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 318.
[3] Brackenbury, p. 19.
[4] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 68.

suspected that old Bo would not be equal to the demands of a great battle about to be fought, the people would invoke the aid of all of the king's ancestors. The ruling king and his ministers and captains would crawl upon their all-fours to the royal tombs, and there beg the departed spirits for help.[1] In some quarters of this zone if the soldiers were inclined to be weak-kneed, they could have courage imparted to them by eating the flesh of an alligator[2] and if their weapons were weak and unsteady, they could be strengthened by rubbing medicine into them.[3] A part of the necessary equipment of every Dahoman soldier used to be the tail of a horse, cow or goat which, when flourished during a battle, caused bullets to turn aside and miss their mark.[4] But the Ashantis more than the Dahomans were accustomed to enlist a large fighting force from among the deities and spirits. Before going to battle they sacrificed to all of their tribal gods in order to make sure of their coöperation; for it was believed that in every battle, the gods of the contending nations were fighting at the same time that the opposing armies fought, and that the conflict of the gods really decided the outcome of the battle.[5] Of course all of the gods and their lieutenants and colonels, in case of victory, demanded payment in sacrifices for their services, and in case of the god Bo, the demand was sometimes a little extortionate. For instance, in 1727 when the Dahomans conquered Whydah, the number of human sacrifices amounted to four thousand. This, however, was not a total loss as 120 of the victims were eaten.[6]

In consequence of the political overthrow of Ashanti and Dahomi, respectively in 1873 and 1893 the war gods of

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 112.
[2] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 178.
[3] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 110.
[4] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 94.
[5] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 77.
[6] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 121.

these nations received a severe shock if not a fatal blow, but the other gods, big and little, so far as can be ascertained, suffered no serious inconvenience from the disintegration, and they continue to operate in their several spheres with undiminished vigor.

Spirits Cause Disease and Death.—Diseases and deaths, as already stated, may be caused by the body-soul of a deceased person (sisa) before it has taken its final departure for Dead Land, or by that other spirit of man, the kra, or by various agencies, varying according to locality. But of all of the spirits the sisa is perhaps the most aggravating. Sometimes it wanders about and taking advantage of an open mouth and the absence of a kra or dream-soul, enters into a person and causes rheumatism, colic or other painful ailment. The medical man has to be summoned at once to get it out. "The methods employed to meet this," says Miss Kingsley, "may be regarded as akin to those of antiseptic surgery. All the people in the village, particularly babies and old people—people whose souls are delicate—must be kept awake during the operation, and have a piece of cloth over the nose and mouth, and every one must howl so as to scare the sisa off them if by chance it should escape from the witch doctor. An efficient practitioner, I may remark, thinks it a great disgrace to allow a sisa to escape from him: and such an accident would be a grave blow to his practice, for people would not care to call in a man who was liable to have this occur. . . . If the patient's family are sufficiently well off, they agree to pay the doctor enough to enable him to teach the sisa the way to Hades."[1] Sometimes when unskilled or malicious practitioners handle a case of this sort they permit the sisa to escape and it enters perchance into some new-born babe causing it to die perhaps of tetanic convulsions. "Soon another baby," says Miss Kingsley, "is born in the same family—polygamy be-

[1] "Travels in West Africa," p. 173.

ing prevalent, the event may occur after a short interval—well, after giving the usual anxiety and expense, that baby goes off in convulsions. Suspicion is aroused. Presently yet another baby appears in the family, keeps all right for a week may be, and then also goes off in convulsions. Suspicions are confirmed. The worm—the father, I mean—turns, and he takes the body of that third baby and smashes one of its leg bones before it is thrown into the bush; for he knows that he has got a wanderer-soul—namely, a sisa, which some unprincipled practitioner has sent into his family. He just breaks the leg so as to warn the soul he is not a man to be trifled with, and will not have his family kept in a state of perpetual uproar and expense. It sometimes happens, however, in spite of this, that when his fourth baby arrives, that too goes off in convulsions. Thoroughly aroused now, paterfamilias sternly takes a chopper and chops that infant's remains extremely small, and it is scattered broadcast. Then he holds he has eliminated that sisa from his family finally."[1] At Badagry, it is supposed that witches or spirits produce death by sucking the blood of people while they sleep, especially of fat people.[2] Some of the Ewe tribes believe that deaths are caused by some ancestral ghost that has come to seize one or more of his descendants whose services are needed in Dead Land.[3] A similar idea prevails among the Fantis, who regard an outbreak of sickness in one of their towns as meaning that a palaver is going on in Srahmandazi, and that the inhabitants of that region are sending up for witnesses.[4]

Deaths Caused by Bush Souls.—With all of these agencies at work producing diseases and deaths, it is no wonder that

[1] "West African Studies," p. 174. [2] Bowen, p. 97.

[3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 111.

[4] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 369; Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 108.

the medical men are put to their wits' end to make accurate diagnoses in each case and to follow the proper treatment. To appreciate the difficulties that the medical men have to grapple with it is only necessary to recall that in the Niger Delta every man has a soul which roams about in the forest under various disguises, and that if it dies naturally or gets killed, its owner immediately or soon thereafter dies also. "This bush-soul," says Miss Kingsley, "is resident in some wild animal in the forest. It may be only in an earth pig or it may be in a leopard, and, quite providentially for the medical profession, no layman can see his own soul—it is not as if it were connected with all earth pigs, or all leopards, as the case may be, but it is in one particular earth pig or leopard or other animal—so recourse must be had to medical aid when anything goes wrong with it. It is usually in the temper that the bush-soul suffers. It is liable to get a kind of aggrieved neglected feeling and want things given it. When you wander about the wild gloomy forests of the Calabar region, you will now and again come across, far from all human habitation or plantation, tiny huts, under whose shelter lies some offering or its remains. Those are offerings administered by direction of a witch doctor to appease a bush-soul. For not only can a witch doctor see what particular animal a man's bush-soul is in, but he can also see whereabouts in the forest the animal is. Still these bush-souls are not easily appeased. The worst of it is that a man may be himself a quiet steady man, careful of his diet and devoted to a whole skin, and yet his bush-soul be a reckless blade, scorning danger and thereby getting itself shot by some hunter or killed in a trap or pit; and if his bush-soul dies, the man it is connected with dies. . . . On the other hand, if a man belonging to a bush-soul dies, the bush-soul animal has to die too. It rushes to and fro in the forest and 'can no longer find a good place.' If it sees a fire, it rushes into that: if it sees a

lot of hunters, it rushes among them—anyhow, it gets itself killed off." [1]

Scope and Methods of the Witch Doctor.—Realizing from the above stated facts the peculiarly complicated nature of diseases in this part of the world, and the numerous vagabond spirits that injure crops, upset canoes, make way with goats, chickens, and so on, it ought to be of interest, not only to the general reader, but to the medical specialists and practitioners of civilized lands, to know more accurately than has hitherto been revealed, the general scope and methods of the doctors of this region in safeguarding the public health and other things pertaining to the general welfare. It is pretty evident to an unbiased mind that our microbe or bacteriological theory of disease is merely a thinly disguised imitation of the African spirit theory, and it is also perfectly apparent that the effort of modern criminologists, such as Lombroso, Ferri, etc., to explain crime upon the theory of craniological abnormalities, "sexual psychopathy," "paranœa," "psychical aberrations," "brain storms," and so forth and so on, is only an imitation in vague phraseology of the clear and comprehensive African theory that criminals are possessed of evil spirits. Moreover, while modern science is just now recognizing the connection between physical and moral abnormalities, the Africans have always recognized this fact and have explained all abnormalities upon the same general principle. Well, according to Miss Kingsley, the methods of the native witch doctor are first prophylactic, that is, "making charms to protect your patient's wives, children, goats, plantations, canoes, etc., from damage, houses from fire, etc., and to protect the patient himself from wild animals and all dangers by land or water. This is a very paying part, but full of anxiety. . . . The other part of your practice—the clinical—consists in combating those witches who are always up to

[1] "West African Studies," p. 177.

something—sucking the blood of young children, putting fearful wild fowl into people to eat up their most valued viscera or stealing souls o' nights, blighting crops, and so forth."[1] Among other things the doctor extracts intruding kras, or insisa or prevents the body-soul from escaping through the mouth to Dead Land. To do this requires much incantation and knowledge of medical and other kinds of jurisprudence. "When a person is insensible, violent means are taken to recall the spirit to the body. Pepper is forced up the patient's nose, and into his eyes, and he is at the same time required to inhale the smoke of some noxious substance. His mouth is propped wide open with a stick while crowds of friends and relations yell the name of the dying man to come back."[2] Among the Agni people the medicine man places a wooden statuette in the centre of the patient's hut, and after executing a magic dance, extracts a splinter, bone or other thing that some designing spirit has inserted in the patient's body. The method prescribed by medical science in the Calabar region for ridding the people of obnoxious spirits is quite remarkable for its novelty and effectiveness. The people are required to provide a sufficient number of images for all of the bad spirits to reside in, supplying at the same time, plenty of food and drink for them, so that they may have no excuse for coming out of their homes, roaming about and causing trouble. If, however, they refuse to abide in the images and persist in hanging about the villages, the people become so exasperated that they rise up with one accord and drive them by force back into their images, and while thus entrapped, carry them out to sea and drown them.[3]

Having now described the general principles and manner of treatment employed by the African practitioners, it is proper in the next place to say something of the fees which

[1] "West African Studies," pp. 182, 183.

[2] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 323.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

they receive for their services. Being generally very modest, they do not take all of the credit to themselves, as doctors elsewhere do, for their wonderful works. They frankly admit that they are aided by certain powerful spirits that reveal valuable secrets. In many cases the practitioners make no charge at all for their own services, requiring only that the patient pay a fee to the coöperating spirit. For example, in the Cape Coast district, a certain doctor, in case of sickness, orders his patients to bury in the ground a few bottles of rum as a suitable recognition of the services of the spirit that has been brought into consultation.[1]

Medical Schools.—Although the lay reader may be fatigued already with this discussion, a few additional remarks must be made for the benefit of the medical profession, in reference to the African medical schools and the general preparations necessary to equip a man properly for general practice. In the Calabar region, for example, the doctor is educated in the following manner: "Every freeman has to pass through the secret society of his tribe," says Miss Kingsley. "If during this education the elders of the society discover that a boy is what is called in Calabar an Ebumtup—that is, a person who can see spirits—the elders of the society advise that he should be brought up to the medical profession. Their advice is generally taken and the boy is apprenticed, as it were, to a witch doctor who requires a good fee with him. This done, he proceeds with his studies, learns the difference between the dream-soul basket and the one insisa are kept in—a mistake between the two would be on par with mistaking oxalic acid for Epsom salts. He is then taught how to howl in a professional way, and, by watching his professor, picks up his bedside manner. If he can acquire a showy way of having imitation epileptic fits, so much the better. In fact, as a medical student, you have to learn—well, as much there

[1] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 52.

as here. You must know the dispositions, the financial position, little scandals, etc., of the inhabitants of the whole district, for these things are of undoubted use in divination and in the finding of witches, and in addition, you must be able skilfully to dispense charms and know what babies say before their own mothers can. Then some day your professor and instructor dies, his own professional power eats him, or he tackles a disease-causing spirit that is one too many for him, and on you descend his paraphernalia and his practice." [1]

As absurd as these practices of the witch doctor may seem, it is nevertheless a fact that many of these doctors possess an intelligent knowledge of the pathology of diseases, and use a variety of efficacious remedies, of which some are taken by white residents for fever,[2] while others have come into general use throughout the civilized world. To be sure, the African doctors often grope in the dark, but they are guided by the same motive as the real man of science and apply to their cases the same methods of investigation that were common at one time to every science. Medical science, as every other science, arises from a passion or curiosity born in mankind for whatever is strange, extraordinary or mysterious; and it is through this love for prying into obscure things that men invent theories, make experiments, watch results, and occasionally stumble upon some valuable truth. Let us not therefore be too severe upon the witch doctor, nor forget that only a few years ago civilized practitioners were bleeding people to death by the wholesale, and that they are yet killing thousands of people by all manner of quack medicines. And let us not forget that it was only yesterday that civilized people abandoned the idea that spirits and demons wandered about causing diseases, madness, crime and injury to property. The Romans believed in such spirits, as we know from the Laws

[1] "Travels in West Africa," p. 182. [2] Staudinger, p. 7.

of the Twelve Tables, which provided that no one should by incantation conjure away another man's grain crop.[1] The belief in witchcraft, demons, devils, etc., was rife throughout the Middle Ages, when spirits stalked in all of the highways. The same belief prevailed in the fifteenth century, when many people upon the charge of witchcraft were horribly tortured and put to death. Victor Hugo gives a vivid description of the witchcraft superstitions of that century in his Notre Dame. In England in 1603 the Established Church forbade the clergy to cast out devils without a license from the bishop; and the notion that people were possessed with evil spirits survived far into the eighteenth century. In America the witchcraft superstition prevailed during the whole colonial period, of which the burning of witches in Boston in 1691–2, is only one of many proofs.

The Work of the Witch Doctor Does not End With the Death of His Patient.—But it is to be observed that the practice of the African doctor does not end when the patient dies or recovers. A man who has an enemy sometimes bribes a god or connives with one to afflict that enemy with a venomous demon, and in the case of any sickness, the question often arises, Who has caused the demon to enter into the patient? and the answering of this question often causes more deaths than actual diseases. The witch doctors are rarely at a loss to indicate some one whom they declare the gods have pointed out as the guilty person; and thus one death leads to another with the result that in many districts of this zone the death rate exceeds the birth rate. This detective function of the witch doctor gives him an opportunity to "gratify his private malice with perfect safety." [2]

Belief in Signs, Omens, Etc.—The inhabitants of this zone are governed largely by signs, omens and practices indicating good or bad luck. For example, at Whydah the people

[1] "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. 24, p. 619.

[2] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 145.

will not sleep with their heads towards the sea, and will not enter a hut as a dwelling on Thursday or Friday.[1] In Dahomi it used to be considered bad luck for dancers to fall in the presence of the king and those who so offended were put to death.[2] The Ashantis never undertake anything unless the signs are propitious. They have certain days of celebration, called Adai Days, some of which are lucky and others unlucky, and on the unlucky days no one dare venture out of doors for fear of some calamity.[3] The cry of an owl near a house means the death of some one of its inmates. Sneezing indicates that something is going wrong with a man's kra.[4] A piece of bent iron over a door means good luck.[5] It is considered bad luck to eat an animal or a plant that represents the tribal totem.[6]

Charms have been discussed already in connection with the activities of the numerous spirits, and it is not worth while to enter into further explanation of their powers, except to mention that thieves among the Ewe people have invented a kind of charm that renders them invisible while they are performing their nefarious work.[7] In reference to signs and omens it would be well to bring to mind in passing that such superstitions are not altogether absurd or lacking in utility. They are the survivals of the primitive man's effort to reason and to ascertain the nature and cause of things. In all investigations, even by the most scientific methods, man begins by considering some fact or effect or object to be attained, and imagining some fact or effect to explain it or bring it about. His mind naturally attributes the cause to whatever resembles or is in close proximity to the fact or object investigated. It is only by thus observing resemblances and dissimilarities that reasoning is possible and truth arrived at. For example, the inquiry into the

[1] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 193. [2] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 95.
[3] Brackenbury, p. 338. [4] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 203.
[5] Bowen, p. 298. [6] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 100. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

cause of death begins by calling in the witch doctor who discovers that at the time of the death an owl was hooting in the tree-top near by. Naturally he attributes the death to the owl. In the case of another death, the doctor may conclude that it was caused, not by an owl, but by a kra or sisa, which some one, perhaps the dying man, had seen in a dream or delirium. This theory is held until it is contradicted by some later observation, which gives rise to still another theory. Thus by tracing closer and closer the proximity, or space and time resemblance, of the cause to the effect, the mind of man jumps from one theory to another, until finally, after many centuries of blundering, some one comes forward with the microbe theory which is supposed to be the final solution of the cause, at least of a certain class, of diseases. Nevertheless, the owl theory survives in the form of a notion of bad luck. In the same way all signs and ill-omens are probably only survivals of the original theories which have been successively deposed as human knowledge has progressed. Professor Jastrow has an interesting chapter in his "Fact and Fable in Psychology," showing how these superstitions have been real stepping stones to progress. The chief difference between a sound reasoner and one who jumps to absurd conclusions is that one traces proximate causes and effects and makes a connected chain of thought, while the other grasps things so remote from each other that they have no real connection.

CHAPTER XXV

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE BANANA ZONE (*Continued*)

Origin of Gods and Priests.—Having shown how the spirits and deities of this zone are concerned in all of the phenomena of life, it is next in order to show how, in the course of time, out of the innumerable spirits that dwell in the sky, forests, rivers, animals and men, there arise definite gods, each having its idols; and to show also how the witch doctor becomes a priest. Naturally the spirits that do the most mischief come in for the largest share of attention and their deeds soon gain for them a wide renown, if the character of the country and distribution of population admit of free intercommunication of ideas. Then the witch doctors who heretofore have been doing a general practice representing all of the deities and spirits, begin to specialize and limit their practice to some one of the spirits that have become celebrated. Such witch doctors are transformed into priests and the spirits into gods. The priests build huts or temples where the gods may find shelter, food and drink and be consulted. The difference between the gods and the ordinary kras, insisa, dream-souls, bush-souls, etc., is that the former reside simultaneously in a variety of localities and deal simultaneously with a large class of phenomena, while the latter reside in one particular place or object and have to do only with one particular phenomenon at a time. A god deals simultaneously with many people; a fetich spirit deals with one man at a time.

Different Kinds of Gods.—Among the Tshi people, according to Ellis, there are four kinds of gods. First, those worshiped by an entire tribe or by several tribes; second,

those worshiped by the inhabitants of certain towns, localities or districts, comprising the spirits of the rivers, hills and sea. The general name for this second class of gods is Boshun. "The common sacrifice," says Ellis, "to the tutelary deity of a town, when the inhabitants are threatened by some great danger, is a newly-born infant, a few hours old at most, who is torn limb from limb on the spot where the Boshun is kept, and the members strewn around." The innocence of the child of any offense to the deity is supposed to render it especially acceptable to him.[1] Third, those deities worshiped by special families or town companies, and who give protection in return for worship and sacrifices.[2] "The tutelary deity of a family," says Ellis, "protects the members of it from sickness and misfortune, and sacrifices are also made to it to remove sterility." In case of sickness the priest comes and prescribes the treatment which he pretends the gods have revealed to him. Death is supposed to be due to the anger of the household god who has been offended. A special day on which no labor is done is set apart for sacrifices in honor of this deity.[3] Household deities are wide-spread in this zone.[4] Fourth, those spirits worshiped by one individual. They are tutelary and the general name of them is suhman, plural esuhman.[5] This latter group, according to the view of the writer, should not be considered as gods, but merely as fetiches or spirits, such as kras, insisa, etc.

General or Nature Gods.—The chief god of the southern Tshi tribes is Bobowissi who looks after the general welfare of that part of the world. The northern and more savage tribes have as their chief god Tando, who carries a sword and is very malignant. Sometimes "human beings are sacrificed to him, the ordinary number on each occasion being fourteen,—seven men and seven women." He has a

[1] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 172. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 18. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[4] Featherman, p. 139. [5] "Tshi, Speaking Peoples," pp. 18, 19.

wife who is also very malignant, and "women are sacrificed to her whenever her assistance is invoked."[1] A sort of omnipresent deity of the Tshis is Sasabonsum who divides himself into fractions and appears in several different rôles and in several different places at the same time, but under all circumstances he is the emissary of evil. He is the special confederate of witches and wizards, and is the most cruel and malignant of all the gods. He takes special delight in destroying any one who may offend him, and the sight of his red body and long hair is enough to frighten people out of their wits. Whenever he gets hungry, which is not seldom, he seizes and devours any one who may be passing along the highways. One of these Sasabonsums lives in a tall bombax-tree, and nothing pleases him better than to throw this tree down on any innocent person that may chance to pass within its reach. Ellis remarks in reference to this matter, that a dead bombax-tree does in fact often fall and kill people as a result of having become rotten from a stroke of lightning. Well, another one of these Sasabonsums lives in the earth, and, when he gets his back up, causes the earth to tremble and throw down houses. "In Ashanti and amongst the northern tribes several persons are invariably put to death after an earthquake as a sacrifice to Sasabonsum."[2] Another important deity is Srahmatin, who is a sort of schoolmistress. She lives in and among the silk cotton trees and when she wishes to secure pupils she seizes them as they pass along the roads, and after keeping them for several months and versing them in the mysteries of her worship, graduates them as priests and priestesses.[3]

Each local deity in the Ashanti region has a day set apart for worship in his or her honor, when people abstain from work and offer sacrifices of sheep, fowls and palm oil.[4]

[1] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," pp. 32, 33.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

It is to be remembered that a layman can communicate directly only with the tutelary deities called esuhman who are all subordinates of Sasabonsum. Now these esuhman enable the people who possess them to perform very wonderful works. When any citizen desires the services of one of these spirits, he first makes a charm, confected of red clay, parrot's feathers and so forth, and then visits Sasabonsum in the woods, who causes a suhman to take up its residence in this charm. Thus impregnated the charm can cause the death of any person that its owner may wish to get rid of. The possessor of such a charm is naturally much feared and respected by his neighbors, although he may not be at all loved. A remarkable quality of a suhman-charm is that it has unlimited power of propagating itself. For instance, if its owner wishes to make any number of other charms, the suhman will multiply itself, and impart its power to them. Among other things a suhman can act as night-watchman and keep off thieves.[1]

Turning our eyes to Dahomi, the god of the first rank is Mawu, a sky god, who is the impersonation of the firmament.[2] Perhaps next in dignity is Dso, who is the fire deity. If he is not shown proper deference he will manifest his displeasure by burning houses. The people are therefore careful to do him reverence and they never occupy a new house without first making fire in it and offering sacrifices to his spirit. Formerly it was the custom to put to death any citizen whose house had been destroyed by fire, since the mere fact that the house was burned convinced the people that its owner had given some offense to old Dso.[3] At present the owner of the house that has been set fire to, is let off if he pay all damages that the fire may have caused to his neighbors. The lightning god Khebioso, like the fire-god Dso, is very malignant, and spends much of his time

[1] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," pp. 101, 102.

[2] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 34.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

throwing down hot rocks upon the heads of innocent or other kind of people, and setting fire to houses. It is necessary to supply him with about 1,500 wives to keep him in a pleasant frame of mind. When, however, he sometimes loses his temper and sets fire to a house, no one will attempt to extinguish the flames for fear of offending him. Next to the fire gods, it would seem proper to mention the water god, Wu, who is a sort of Neptune, presiding over the sea. He has a very high temper and when he gets angry he begins to deluge the country with water, upset canoes, drown fishermen and make himself generally disagreeable. Sometimes the only way he can be quieted is to offer him a human sacrifice.[1] The sun god Lissa is so far away that little is known of him except that he is married to Gleti, the moon deity, and causes eclipses sometimes by following his wife and beating her.[2]

Animal Deities.—Occupying a very exalted place in the Dahoman pantheon is Danh-gbi, the great god of wisdom and earthly bliss. He exists in the form of a python, and no one may kill one of his reptilian kin on penalty of being burned alive. He is very fond of sheep and oxen, and frequently demands them as sacrifices. One of his strongest points is his power of infatuating women, many of whom become his wives, and on the occasion of festivals in his honor, give themselves over to unrestrained harlotry.[3] At Whydah special houses used to be built for the residence of divine pythons, and whenever one of these creatures made its escape it was picked up and carefully brought back by some devotee. Any citizen who met it in the streets was obliged to bow down and kiss the dust.[4] The king of Dahomi used to inflict the death penalty if any one killed a divine snake even accidentally.[5] The Bassamese have

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 64. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 66. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[4] Forbes, Vol. 1, p. 109. [5] Duncan, Vol. 1, pp. 195, 196.

divine crocodiles, lizards, etc.[1] The Dahoman rainbow god Anyi-Ewo exists in the form of a huge serpent that drinks water with his tail on the ground and his head in the clouds.[2]

In the Niger region there are countless gods of the sky, wind, lightning, thunder, etc., similar to those already mentioned, except that instead of being appealed to through the instrumentality of priests, they are communicated with through the more friendly representatives, such as iguanas in Bonny, sharks in New Calabar, and elsewhere monkeys, lizards and the like.[3] The gods of this region, as elsewhere, often require human sacrifices and in some localities the favorite method of putting the victims to death is to drag them over the ground.[4]

Sacrifices.—Very likely the reader has already asked himself to what extent the sacrifices such as herein mentioned are still prevalent. The only answer that can be made is that they prevail pretty generally except in the neighborhood of missionary settlements or in districts policed by European administrative officers. In this zone, on account of the many rivers, lagoons and swamps, and the dense forests, there are innumerable tribes that live far beyond the reach of the missionary or the colonial magistrate.

Idols and Temples.—In this zone idols are so numerous that they may be seen in every village[5] and in the Niger Delta, in every house.[6] Their general aspect is that of horrible caricatures of men, beasts, snakes and so forth. Some of them are life-size and some miniature.[7] Describing an Ashanti idol, Stanley says that it is simply an armless and legless figure, placed right by the side of some public street and at its back is generally a medicine heap covered

[1] Featherman, p. 139. [2] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 49.

[3] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 331; Falconbridge, p. 51. [4] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 330.

[5] Ogilby, p. 477; Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," pp. 49, 68, 79; Duncan, Vol. 1, pp. 80–124.

[6] Allen and Thompson, Vol. 1, p. 242; Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 348. [7] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 124.

over with a turtle's back or huge stone. "A white man educated at a university in all of the secrets of medicine and surgery, is not gifted with one-half the powers commonly ascribed and commonly believed to be possessed by this miserable idol." [1]

The temple or dwelling place for the idol is sometimes a mere shed in the woods, sometimes a commodious house adorned with human skulls, or as in Bonny, a small room connected with the dwelling house.[2]

The Priests and their Practices.—Among the Tshi people the priesthood is recruited from those who may volunteer to enter it or who are dedicated to it by relatives. Its doors are open to men, women and children, but, in fact those who do enter are mostly the grandchildren of priests and priestesses. A novitiate of two or three years of retired life is necessary as a qualification for membership. Priests have the privilege of marrying the same as other men, but it is considered unlawful for priestesses to have human husbands. Theoretically the priestesses are the wives of the gods and therefore ought not, at the same time, to be the wives of mortal men. However this restriction does not at all prevent the priestesses from sexual indulgence but on the contrary makes them public prostitutes.[3] The priests no less than the witch doctors are supposed to work all kinds of miracles. "They are applied to for information and assistance in almost every concern of life—to detect the person who has caused the death of another, to expose the thief, the adulteress and the slanderer, to avert misfortune and procure good luck. . . . In their anxiety to secure the services of the priesthood, persons frequently reduce themselves to absolute penury, and cases have been known in which individuals have enslaved themselves in order that

[1] Stanley, "Coomassie," p. 55.
[2] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 80; Wood, p. 601; Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 244.
[3] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 121.

they might obtain a sufficient sum wherewith to purchase a priest's aid." [1] If priests fail to perform the wonders for which they have been paid, they, as well as the witch doctors in such cases, are sometimes put to death. For example, during the British-Ashanti war of 1873-4, a priest was required to inform the public on what day a British gun-boat lying at anchor would put out to sea. After the proper conjuration, he announced that it would surely depart on the next day. However, at sunrise next morning, instead of the departure of the gun-boat, two others hove ominously upon the horizon. The result was that the priest was beheaded.[2] A peculiarity worthy of note among the Tshi people is that "there are no different grades of priests and no priest or priestess has, as such, any authority over another." [3]

In Dahomi the youth of both sexes who go into the priesthood are known as kosios and in preparation for their office undergo training in regular seminaries. "In every town," says Ellis, "there is at least one institution in which the best-looking girls between ten and twelve years of age are received." Here they remain three years as prostitutes of the priests and inmates of male seminaries, after which they become fully ordained priestesses, *i. e.*, public prostitutes.[4] After the female kosios have been fully initiated, they retire from the seminary and live together in a group of houses enclosed by a fence. The supply of inmates for this institution is kept up partly by abduction of young girls on feast days.[5] Now and then a married, or single or even slave woman enters the priesthood by simulating possession. This method of entrance offers to women a means of escape from the ill-usage of their husbands, and, at the same time, a means of unlimited gratification of their passions. The

[1] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 124. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 127. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[4] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 141.
[5] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 267.

priestesses, says Ellis, "are most licentious and have not the slightest regard for public decency." [1]

The members of the priesthood are of course distinguished from the commonalty by special dress and privileges. They usually wear articles of clothing forbidden to others, and are exempt from penalties for crime. In former times no priest was subject to capital punishment.[2]

The priests and priestesses of Dahomi, in contrast to those of Ashanti, coöperate and form hierarchic organizations with fixed rules and practices. The priests constitute the members of one organization and the priestesses of another, and the rank occupied by a member of either organization depends upon whether he or she represents a general, a tribal or local deity.

Ideas of Another World.—The people of this zone believe that everything in Dead Land is the same as in this world, including mountains, rivers, trees, animals, men, family life and form of government.[3] When the sun sets in this world it rises in the other.[4] They even believe that people carry into the other world all of their physical imperfections.[5] But strange to say the people seem to have no notion of immortality. They argue in their minds that if people of this life die, so, in the course of time, the people of Dead Land must die also.[6] The belief that life in the other world is the same as in this is easily accounted for, since, when a man dreams, he sees frequently the images of dead men who appear in dress, and in behavior just as in their previous life. He is therefore not only convinced that people live after death, but that they lead the same kind of existence as before.[7] Most of the people, however, prefer this world to the other one. A Tshi proverb says, "One day in this world is worth a year

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 149. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18. [4] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 340.
[5] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 107. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 108.
[7] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 158.

in Srahmandazi." [1] In the Niger Delta, as already mentioned, the dead do not tarry long in the other world, but come back speedily in the form of new-born infants.[2] The people nowhere have any conception of eternal punishment,[3] except those who have been influenced by missionaries. The general practice of placing food, drink and sundry articles upon the graves of the dead is a survival of the belief that the spirit of the dead lingers about the place of burial and often gets hungry and thirsty, or in need of some other of the ordinary requirements of life.

Among the Tshi people there are no gods worshiped universally. This is because the density of the forest and scattered condition of the people make it difficult for a god of one locality to become known to other localities. Among the Ewe people, on the contrary, the more open country and better facilities for communication, permit the fame of important gods to extend over a wide area, thus giving rise to a distinct polytheism.[4]

[1] Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa," p. 339.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 343.
[3] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 127.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

CHAPTER XXVI

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE MILLET ZONE

Spirit Beliefs.—This zone offers a great diversity of religious beliefs, including fetichism, polytheism and monotheism. In general it may be said that along the lower borders of the zone, the religion is mixed with the grossest superstitions, and that towards the middle and northern districts, it is blended with Mohammedanism and is somewhat more rational.

To begin, the Yorubas believe that each man has three spirits dwelling in him; one in his head, one in his stomach and one in his great toe. The head spirit presides over thought, the stomach spirit causes hunger, and the toe spirit helps him to walk and run. Before setting out on a journey a man must not forget to anoint his toe.[1] The belief is universal that when a man dies one of his spirits can come back and reside in another person or in an animal, tree, shrub or rock.[2] In the eyes of the Yorubas the whole universe is animated. The moon is an old hen and the stars are little chickens following after her. The Milky Way is therefore only a vast flock of chickens.[3] The mountains, rivers, clouds and trees are all living beings of some kind or other. Even artificial things are animated.[4]

Spirits in the Economic Life.—In the course of time some of the most dreaded of these spirits soar to the dignity of gods, and, as in the banana zone, both the gods and the minor spirits take part in everything that concerns human life. For example, the god Orisha Oko gives attention to

[1] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," pp. 126, 127.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 123. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 83. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

agriculture and causes a big yield of yams. He is honored by an annual festival, which, in former times, was an occasion when women gave themselves up to free sexual intercourse, but that feature of the festival is now omitted, except by slave girls and the lowest class of women.[1] The Yoruba god Ogun corresponds somewhat to the Roman god Vulcan, and is the special friend of blacksmiths and teaches them all the secrets of their trade.[2] Other kinds of divinities live in rivers and forests so that if a man hunts or fishes or gathers wood or wild fruit, he must propitiate them or have some charm to secure their good graces. The tree spirits sometimes cause a good deal of trouble to any one in search of fire-wood. They do not like to have their dwelling places ruthlessly destroyed, and whenever an axman cuts down a tree he must use some kind of strategy to entice away its spirit. For instance, one device is to place a calabash of palm oil on the ground near the tree to be cut, and as the spirit comes down to lick up the oil, the axman begins his cutting.[3] If the Yorubas wish to go hunting, they must call upon Shango, who, when not busy hurling thunderbolts, presides over the chase and insures a good supply of game; or if they wish to go fishing, they must first make terms with Olokun, the chief sea god, who regulates the movements of the fish.[4] In some districts there is no one god powerful enough to transact all of the business pertaining to agriculture, and in consequence of this fact, the crops suffer very much from the machinations of numerous small spirits that get in the millet, corn and cotton fields. Always just before the planting time the farmers come together and attempt to drive away these bad spirits by dressing in masks and fantastic costumes and parading the streets with great noise and flourishing of clubs.[5]

In the Family Life.—The Yorubas have two gods who

[1] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," pp. 77, 78. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 115. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 72. [5] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 379.

give all of their time to the regulation of sexual and family matters; one is Ifa, the god of fecundity, who causes women to become pregnant; and the other is Obatala, who causes the child to grow.[1] If the latter deity takes a dislike to a woman, he may cause the child to come into the world deformed. Ifa is the more popular of the two deities on account of the fact that he is the inspirer of human passion. An important peculiarity to note is that he is not the personification of love and beauty as was Aphrodite among the Greeks or Venus among the Romans, for the reason that the Yorubas have not reached the point of regarding their Ifa in a sentimental and romantic aspect, but only as a god of sexuality.

In Political Affairs.—The deities of this zone, as in the banana zone, take a lively interest in statecraft and military matters. In Yoruba, for instance, there is a god of war, Ogun, who will undertake to insure successful campaigns upon the consideration of the sacrifice of a slave. The priest who officiates on the occasion of one of these sacrifices usually takes the heart of the freshly killed slave, seasons it with rum and sells it to any of the soldiers who may wish to have extraordinary courage.[2] Charms of various kinds are used for strategic purposes, but they are liable to be outwitted by some of the gods, and therefore are not altogether reliable. For example, on one occasion at Freetown, when some trouble arose between the natives and the British, a Negro girl obtained from a witch doctor a couple of bottles of magic water, which had the power of dampening the powder of the English soldiers; but owing, without doubt, to the spiteful interference of some god, the prescription did not work, and as she was dancing and scattering the magic potion near the garrison, one of the soldiers, seeing the performance, shot her in the arm and she "ran screaming away."[3]

[1] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 56. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 69. [3] Spilsbury, p. 38.

The spirits of this zone also generally act as detectives, policemen and night-watchmen. They have the power of concealing themselves in a variety of fetich objects which men set up along the streets to protect valuable property or to guard entrances to houses.[1] The Yorubas have a kind of goblin detective, who in reality is a man, but is supposed to be supernatural, his business being to disguise himself in a fanciful costume, appear among the villagers at night and carry away troublesome neighbors.[2] In judicial proceedings, some spirit or deity often acts as judge, jury and executioner, as in the banana zone. For instance, when a person is required to drink poison, a certain god, Yemaja, who presides over brooks and streams, is supposed to cause the potion to have a fatal effect if the accused is guilty.[3]

Festivals, Feasts, etc.—Many festivals and feast days naturally arise in connection with the religious beliefs of this zone. For instance, the Yorubas celebrate the first day of the week as Ifa day, in honor of this god of Divination and Fecundity. Fowls and other things are offered up and sometimes a human being.[4] This weekly rest day probably originated from moon worship and was at first merely the celebration of the new moon. Later, when the lunar month was divided into weeks, the rest day came to be observed on the first day of the week.[5] Among the followers of Islam the festivities and feast days are in accordance with the traditions of that religion. The Mohammedan Sabbath is a great festival and people turn out to parade the streets, sing and dance and thoroughly enjoy themselves.[6] Without going into details it is sufficient to state that among the Yorubas, as among the ancient Greeks and Romans, each god has his or her celebrations and dances.

[1] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 204; Binger, Vol. 1, p. 203; Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 115. [2] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 108.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 44. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 147. [6] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 319.

Spirits Cause Diseases and Deaths.—All deaths, except those resulting from violence or accident, are attributed to the work of wicked spirits. In Yoruba the people imagine that the woods fairly swarm with hungry and thirsty spirits. A certain one of them called Abiku frequently enters children and eats up their blood. In order to drive it away, a mother sometimes has to make incisions in the body of her child and place therein some kind of spice or some green pepper, the pain from which, being felt by the Abiku, causes it to depart. In case of death, the corpse of the child is beaten and mutilated so that the indwelling Abiku that has eaten up the child's blood may be sufficiently punished.[1] When adults die it is customary to hold a post mortem examination to ascertain what kind of spirit has caused the mischief. It sometimes happens that wicked spirits conceal themselves in some old man or woman, and through them afflict the people with death and other calamities. Such people having evil-spirits in them correspond to what civilized people have generally designated as witches. Any person accused of bewitching must submit to the poison ordeal, unless the evidence of guilt is so plain that the people take the law into their own hands and deal with the witch in a summary manner.[2] Among the Timni the punishment for witchcraft is either death or the enslavement of the guilty person together with all of his family.[3] Lander found two old women imprisoned on an island in the Niger who had been convicted of eating the souls of five human beings. The Bongos attribute sickness or death to the craftiness of old women, who connive with evil spirits or witches. Old women are supposed to wander about at night searching for magic roots and herbs wherewith to torment their enemies. "Whenever any case of sudden death occurs, the aged people are held responsible. . . . Woe to the old cronies, then, in whose house

[1] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 114.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[3] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 204.

the suspected roots and herbs are found: though they be father or mother, they have no chance of escape." In view of this superstition it is not surprising to learn that old women are scarce.[1] A deplorable thing about witchcraft is that no individual can tell what moment a wandering demon may enter him and make him a witch. Even an accused person cannot be absolutely certain of his innocence. Cases are known where people have believed that they were really possessed and in consequence have either died of fright, or become insane.[2] The inhabitants of this zone explain every kind of mental or physical derangement or abnormality as the work of demons. Epilepsy, insanity and delirium are supposed to be the result of some kind of kra or sisa that usurps the place of the normal spirit. Even nightmares are the work of these demons, as for example in Yoruba, where there is a widely known demon called Shigidi, who goes about the country and amuses himself by giving people spasms of fright.[3]

It is not altogether pleasant to have to admit that some of the most important medical discoveries of modern times were first made in Africa. For example, the discovery that flies and mosquitoes are the purveyors of disease. While this fact has been announced in Europe and America with a flourish of trumpets as if it were something new, it has been known for many centuries by the medical men of Yoruba, who have demonstrated to their entire satisfaction that smallpox is produced by Shankpanna, a most powerful and malignant spirit, and that its agents and messengers are flies and mosquitoes. In some other respects the medical men of this zone are entirely up to date. For example, they do not always resort to magic or rely upon spirits and deities, but have a considerable knowledge of *materia medica*, and treat diseases on purely scientific principles; that is to say,

[1] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 307. [2] Lander, Vol. 2, p. 24.
[3] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 76.

they examine the patient, locate the seat of the disease and prescribe certain diet and medicines. Among many efficacious medicines of the Hausa practitioners, it may be mentioned, for example, that the flesh of a jack-ass is a sovereign remedy for coughs and pains in the chest.[1]

Duties and Responsibilities of the Witch Doctor and Rain Doctor.—Perhaps in no part of the world are medical practitioners required to have a wider range of information, or to assume graver responsibilities. They must not only be able to cure all kinds of diseases, make charms to protect homes, and personal property from theft, but must regulate the weather to suit the crops. The doctor who fails to bring rain at the critical hour, not only loses his reputation and practice, but his head; for people will not be trifled with in an important matter of this kind. As an instance of summary treatment of a rain doctor, it may be mentioned that in 1859 when the Bari people were in the midst of a terrible famine, they demanded that their doctor bring down an ample supply of rain forthwith, but the combination failed him and he could not induce the clouds to part with their moisture. Thereupon the people waxed indignant and slew him.[2] The various methods employed by the Sudan doctors to produce rain have never been fully comprehended by European men of science, simply because such matters have been kept as profound secrets. Each local doctor has an invention of his own, which according to the most unbiased opinion, never fails, if put into operation at the proper moment. A Shuli doctor can take a simple antelope horn and by some mysterious manipulation make it a very potent excitor which never fails to shake down the clouds.[3] When a citizen of Yoruba dies, a doctor is sent for to ascertain whether the death is due to a natural cause, *i. e.*, to accident or injury, or to a witch or spirit; if the latter he must dis-

[1] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 191.

[2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 26.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 42.

cover who and where the witch or spirit is.[1] The friends and relatives, in the meantime, are careful to carry all of the articles of the deceased out of the hut and bury them, so as to offer no excuse for the spirit that caused the death to linger about the premises.[2]

Reincarnation.—As among the Tshi people of this zone, the soul of the dead man sometimes remains for days in the neighborhood of its former abode, perhaps causing sickness and death, and then wanders off to Dead Land. After a while, however, it comes back in the form of an infant reborn into the same family, proof of which is found in its resemblance to a deceased father, mother, or other relative.[3]

Signs, Omens and Divination.—Signs, omens and charms play a great part here as in the other zones. The Bambaras, for instance, make a practice of suspending magic bags in their huts to keep away sundry obnoxious spirits,[4] and almost everywhere the people place charms about their houses and fields and wear many kinds of protecting amulets. Even the Mohammedans have great faith in charms and amulets. Clapperton mentions that an old woman at Koolfu kept in her house some magic pieces of wood which had been given to her by a priest, and which, when soaked in water, were supposed to accomplish many marvels.[5] The Mandingo Mohammedans generally wear scraps of paper scribbled on by a priest to keep off snake bites, etc.,[6] and they consider it bad luck to start on a journey during the last quarter of the moon.[7] The people of Lodio consider it bad luck for a crane to fly over the village, and when one attempts to do so, they assemble in the streets and shout at it to go away.[8] In some places it is believed that if a bird cries in a tree near a village it is a sign of death.[9] In other

[1] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 155. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 128. [4] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 203.
[5] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 171. [6] Park, p. 36.
[7] Featherman, p. 309. [8] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 446. [9] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 203.

places it is considered bad luck to kill a crocodile in a stream of water from which the people drink.[1] The Dioulas seem to have a superstitious dread of anything strange or unusual. For instance, when Captain Binger was sojourning among them, they begged him not to eat from his table, as it would bring bad luck.[2] The Basomas consider it bad luck to put on their trousers without spitting in them, or to sit on a bench or stool without the same protecting ceremony.[3]

Among people who have to provide for future wants, and exercise some foresight, it is natural that they should be more interested in future events than a people who live from hand to mouth upon the spontaneous products of nature. We should, therefore, not be surprised to find in the millet zone more effort to divine the future than in the banana zone. While the data bearing upon this point are scant, the greater interest of the agricultural people in future events may be inferred from the fact that the god Ifa of the Yorubas, among other accomplishments, has the power of divining the future and is consulted to a great extent by all classes of people.[4]

[1] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 446.
[2] Vol. 1, p. 360.
[3] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 194.
[4] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 57.

CHAPTER XXVII

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE MILLET ZONE (*Continued*)

General and Nature Gods.—In addition to the multitudinous spirits and deities mentioned as interfering in some particular phase of the life of the people, there are some widely known gods that personify the forces of nature. For example in Yoruba there is a sky god Olorun, who corresponds somewhat to the Jupiter of the Romans. He lives a pretty long way off, and, as he does not meddle seriously with mundane affairs, he is not much feared or worshiped.[1] His wife Odudwa is the earth deity and the patroness of love. She is very active in mundane affairs, and vies with Obatala in exciting the human passions. She is held in great esteem, especially by the women, who abandon themselves unreservedly to her male worshipers.[2] One of the powerful deities, and certainly the most dreaded one, is Shango, the god of thunder and lightning. He frequently gets out of humor and thumps and bangs people over the heads and lets fly hot stones upon their houses. If he sets fire to a house, the people of the neighborhood feel free to plunder it, as among the Ewe people, because the owner of the house is believed to have incurred the ill-will of the deity by some crime or act of disrespect. Shango is a polygamist and has taken three of his own sisters for wives. Altogether he is a pretty bad character. Of the less widely known deities of Yoruba is Olosa, goddess of the Lagos lagoon. Whenever this divine lady gets angry, the lagoon swells and overflows, and a human sacrifice has to be offered sometimes before she can be persuaded to behave herself. Crocodiles are her

[1] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 36. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

messengers and must not be molested.[1] The mountain god Oke, though of no great importance, must not be entirely slighted. If the people fail to show him proper respect he will roll down rocks upon them.[2]

Animal Deities: Household Gods.—Serpent deities are not so common in this zone because the country is mostly inland where the conditions do not favor the existence of numerous and dangerous snakes. People, however, who live along the water courses usually have some reptilian species in their pantheon. The Baris, for example, have a certain serpent which is supposed to be the grandfather of their tribe,[3] and to which they show great reverence. The people of Nyffe keep in their fetich houses lizards, crocodiles and tortoises.[4]

Household gods are not generally found in this zone except along its lower borders.[5] Such gods probably arose everywhere from the practice of burying people in or near the house in which they lived. Believing that the spirits of the dead linger about their former place of habitation, the people set up images in their houses for the spirits to reside in.[6]

Sacrifices.—Sacrifices of every kind are less frequent in this zone, and are generally attended with less ceremony.[7] Human sacrifices scarcely exist except in the region of the Niger, and never on such a wholesale scale as in Dahomi and in Ashanti. Among some tribes when a king or chief dies, a few of his wives, attendants and slaves are required to go along with him and minister to his wants in the other world.[8] If the reader is inclined to be shocked at these horrible practices, he should remember that there are many ex-

[1] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 72. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[3] Reclus, Vol. 1, p. 101. [4] Featherman, p. 402.
[5] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 281. [6] *Ibid.*
[7] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 203; Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 104.
[8] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 110; Binger, Vol. 2, p. 184; Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 79.

amples of such practices among the white races. For example, the ancient Gauls, upon the death of a chief, used to bury everything that he cherished during life, including his slaves and clients.[1] For religious purposes the most common objects of sacrifice in this zone are chickens, especially of the white variety,[2] sheep, goats, oxen, rats, wine[3] and pigeons.[4]

Idols.—As a rule idols and images diminish as one advances northward from the banana zone, and at the same time become less grotesque. Along the lower border of this zone, however, they are quite numerous and correspondingly fantastic. The forest god Oroni, for instance, is represented as a human monstrosity, standing upright upon only one leg and having the head and tail of a dog.[5] Some images represent a man on horseback, others a woman nursing a child, while still others are in the form of an animal or serpent. Rohlfs describes a clay god, Dodo, the principle of evil, as being animal in form, with four antelope horns on its back, but having two human faces, one turned forward, and the other backward. The face turned forward was colored white and partly covered with a beard of sheep-wool.[6] Near the Benue River Rohlfs observed a serpent idol, having a female head with long horns.[7] In the Yoruba towns the serpent symbol and the *partes genitales in coitu* are often sculptured on temple doors.[8] The custom prevails in many parts of this zone of making an image of a deceased twin so that the spirit of the dead child may have a place to dwell and not be tempted to enter the body of the living child.[9] It is to be noted that twins are not put to death in this zone as among the tribes of the Niger Delta.

Priests.—Montesquieu asserted as a general proposition

[1] Binger, Vol. 2, p. 187.
[2] Lasnet, p. 87.
[3] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 327.
[4] Bowen, p. 313.
[5] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 79.
[6] Vol. 2, p. 199.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 204.
[8] Bowen, p. 315.
[9] Ellis, p. 80.

that the number of dervishes and priests increases in proportion as the heat of the climate increases,[1] but, in fact, there are probably as many priests relatively to population in the temperate zone as in the torrid. It is obviously true, however, that the functions of the priests become more numerous and extravagant in proportion as one advances towards the Equator. If the priests are not fewer in number in the millet zone they are certainly less extravagant in their pretensions. Perhaps they are more plentiful in Yoruba where the people deal with their great gods by means of intercessors.[2] A striking fact about the Yoruba priests is that they coöperate and form a regular priesthood, the head of which is, at the same time, the head of the Ogboni secret society.[3] The priestly hierarchy consists of three orders who represent correspondingly different classes of gods.[4] The office of priest is generally hereditary, but laymen may attain to it by means of seminaries of the kind found among the Ewe people.[5]

Notions of the After Life.—All of the people of this zone believe in some kind of hereafter. The Yorubas have their Dead Land where the same activities go on as in this life. The practice of placing upon graves food, drink, weapons, clothing and the like is based upon the presumption that these things will be needed by the dead people's spirits.[6] When any one wishes to know what is going on in Dead Land he can find out from the priests.[7] Generally there is no division into heaven and hell in the other world, but in some provinces, as for example that of Wowo, bad people are supposed to undergo temporary punishment somewhere for their wickedness, after which they are permitted to enter the land of the good people.[8] The prayers and sacrifices of the Negroes have reference mostly to this life,[9] and what

[1] Vol. 1, p. 335.
[2] Bowen, p. 313.
[3] Ellis, p. 95.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[8] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 326.
[9] Bowen, p. 313.

may happen when this mortal coil is shuffled off is of little concern.

More Rational Ideas Than in the Banana Zone.—Considering the whole millet zone, it is very evident that the people are less superstitious than those in the banana zone.[1] Barth says, "In general, I think I am not mistaken in supposing that the sacerdotal functions with these tribes of the interior are less developed than those on the coast; for as yet, I had seen very little of real fetichism." [2] This difference in the zones is due partly to the influence of Mohammedanism, but in great part to the fact that the people have to exert their minds and bodies more vigorously to live, and hence bring about more development of their reason. Being obliged to do more to overcome nature they necessarily become less afraid of it. Their deities are less violent and malignant, and in some cases, real friends and benefactors, with the result that the people, instead of continually making sacrifices to bribe them, sometimes offer prayers as thanks for favors.[3] The gods of this zone are generally more anthropomorphous than those of the banana zone. This is because the imagination of the agricultural people is less inflamed and the people rely more upon their own efforts to get along. They therefore give to their deities the forms and attributes of men. On the other hand, the people of the banana zone, whose lives are more under the dominion of the blind forces of nature, and whose minds are fevered with terror, give to their deities the forms and characteristics of semi-human monsters. The fact stands out pretty clearly that, corresponding to the somewhat more rational religion of this zone, there is a somewhat higher development of the social and moral life of the people.

Influence of the Mohammedan Religion.—The Mohammedan religion, no doubt, strengthens the moral element in a great part of this zone. A very striking contrast be-

[1] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 327. [2] Vol. 2, p. 382. [3] Park, p. 129.

tween the Mohammedan and the fetich religion is that while the one is proselyting, jealous and intolerant of all others, the other is tolerant and friendly to all others. Negro deities do not attempt to monopolize public attention. They leave every man free to worship the gods of his choice so long as he does not insult any of them. The Mohammedan religion takes an easy and deep hold upon the mind and heart of the Negro, because it sanctions polygamy and retains faith in charms, magic and other superstitions; and to say the least of it, it is a vast improvement over fetichism. In some respects it even has ennobling influences. Its followers have regular prayers several times a day, and often whereever two or three people are gathered together in a schoolhouse or in a millet field. Staudinger says that he had been often deeply impressed by the farewell prayer which the people are accustomed to make when pilgrims are setting out on a journey. It seems that a cavalcade accompanies them for a certain distance of their journey and then coming to a halt, the leader of the cavalcade, sitting upon his horse, with clasped hands and face uplifted to heaven, repeats the pious strophes asking the Almighty to bless those going onward with a prosperous voyage.[1]

Origin of Mythology.—Generally the gods of this zone have more of a personal history than those of the banana zone. In Yoruba each god has its particular legend and all of them together form a rich mythology. The probable reason that gods come to have a personal history is that when they begin to be worshiped at a distance from the objects in which they originally dwelt, people forget where they came from, and hence find it necessary to invent some story to explain their origin. In this way, no doubt, mythologies have everywhere had their origin.[2] A comparison of the religion of the Slave Coast and the Gold Coast, brings out the fact that there are more general gods in the former

[1] Staudinger, p. 563; Canot, p. 145. [2] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 85.

than in the latter. The explanation of this phenomenon is made easy if we remember that the Slave Coast country is more open and more compactly settled and therefore more favorable than the Gold Coast for the dissemination of ideas over a wide area. Hence in the religion of these two peoples there is seen a gradual transition from fetichism to polytheism.[1] If outside the Slave Coast country there are few general gods among the Nigritians of this zone, it is because of the segregated and disconnected manner in which the people are grouped and the imperfect intercommunication of ideas.

[1] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 290.

CHAPTER XXVIII

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE CATTLE ZONE

Mohammedanism the Predominant Faith.—In this zone Mohammedanism is the predominant faith and its chief adherents are the Fellatahs who introduced it, and, with their aggressive missionaries, are rapidly converting all of the blacks of the Sudan. They are fanatic and intolerant and strict observers of all of the external part of their religion. "They say their daily prayers and perform the usual ablutions: they keep the fast of Rhamadan, during which they abstain from food and every kind of indulgence from sunrise to sunset." Each village has its mosque, to which a *maraboo* (same as marabout) is attached who recites the usual prayers five times a day to the assembled people. The Fellatahs observe the Mohammedan weekly rest day which comes on Friday, and also several great festivals during the year. The women do not worship in the mosque with the men, but in a shed outside, where a *maraboo* joins them in the proper prayers, genuflections and prostrations. As a rule the Mohammedan Fellatahs make no idols and offer no sacrifices, but believe much in signs, omens and charms. A few passages from the Koran sewed up in a leather case and worn around the neck, arm or leg, are supposed to protect the wearer from drowning, from the effects of firearms, snake-bites, and to keep off sharks and wild beasts.[1]

Next to the Fellatahs the Kanuris are the most zealous followers of Mohammedanism. "They are Mussulmans of

[1] Featherman, p. 378; Clapperton, "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 52; Canot, p. 177.

the orthodox sect: they strictly attend to their prayers, and perform their ablutions five times a day. Being much more ignorant they are much less tolerant than the Arabs. In the large towns there are many *hadjis* or men who have made their pilgrimage to Mecca, who are excellent scribes, and write the Arabic characters in a neat style. They act as teachers as well as *fighis*, or copyists to the chiefs, and write out despatches composed in the Kanuri language and written in Arabic characters."[1]

Mohammedanism has a strong following also among the Jolofs. Each village has a *maraboo* who resides within its limits, acts as religious teacher, and is the schoolmaster that instructs the boys in reading and writing Arabic, as well as in the precepts of the Koran.[2] . . . "Like all Mohammedans they (the Jolofs) give credit to the existence of genii, some of whom are supposed to be beneficent beings, and as such they accompany man wherever he goes to protect him. They are the tutelary patrons of the houses: some live on land and others take up their abode in the waters. They are quite exacting in their demands; some require that no hot water be poured on the ground; others wish that certain places should be approached only while singing; others again want to be regaled with a mess of food served up in a fine plate."[3]

Fetichism Among the Unconverted.—But in many towns and districts among the Fellatahs, Kanuris, Jolofs and others, there are thousands of heathens who hold to their fetichism, without, however, infusing into it so much terror and delirium as the heathens of the other zones. Many of the Jolofs imagine that spirits dwell in the air, forest and waters and must be worshiped to propitiate their wrath or to gain their favor.[4] The Shillooks believe that the ghostly spectres of the dead are always invisibly present with the

[1] Featherman, p. 282. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 360. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

living and aid or hinder whatever is undertaken.[1] If rain is needed, instead of employing a witch doctor, they call upon the traditional father of their race.[2]

Sexual deities or superstitious notions respecting the family relations are not at all common in this zone. Occasionally the traveler meets with some such superstition as that prevailing among the women of Bornu who believe that if they lie upon a panther skin or leopard skin they will be sure to give birth to a boy.[3]

In political and judicial matters the spirits are not very active and people do not so frequently call upon nor so much rely upon them as in the other zones. However, their assistance in war is not altogether disdained and their superior wisdom is sometimes deferred to in the trial of criminals. Among the Jolofs a man accused of theft is tried by the fire spirit in the following manner: "An iron spade is heated to redness, which the suspected person is required to touch with his tongue, and he who is badly burned is pronounced guilty and is bound to pay the value of the property stolen."[4] The spirits sometimes become the confederates of thieves. For example, in Darfur, the thieves have a kind of magic horn which when blown, causes the people whose property is being stolen to become deaf and blind.[5]

The Witch Doctors.—Sickness and death are not so generally ascribed to the work of spirits or witches, yet in many districts the spirits are up to much devilment and recourse must be had to the conjurer, sorcerer or magic doctor. Among the Dinkas, the conjurer, "after having examined the sick person who is dangerously ill, announces at once whether the patient will live or die. An ox is killed, and the sick man is bedaubed with its dung to disgust the

[1] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 91; Featherman, p. 68.
[2] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 91.
[3] Denham's "Narrative," p. 247.
[4] Featherman, p. 361.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 740.

demon of disease and induce him to leave the deity-mansion in which he has taken up his abode. The flesh of the sacrificial victim is eaten by the cogyoor (conjurer) and the relatives and friends of the patient."[1] The Shillook magic doctors "build their huts in sacred places, such as a large tree or a piece of forest, and there they are visited by the people who consult them in case of dangerous maladies."[2] If the reader will refer back a moment to the banana zone he will recall that one of the worst things about the death-dealing spirits of that region is that after they have caused the death of a person they often return and kill others. Now, in the cattle zone, the Jolofs have discovered a very simple and ingenious method of preventing the return of these spirits. After burying a dead person, they elude the pursuit of its spirit by making several circuitous turns in their course before returning to their homes.[3] This simple ruse diminishes the sphere of action of the magic doctor and saves the people the expense, so burdensome elsewhere, of continuing the services of the doctor after the patient has died.

Few General Gods.—With the exception of Allah of the Mohammedan religion, the gods of this zone have only a local reputation and limited jurisdiction. Before the introduction of Mohammedanism there were perhaps some celebrated gods among the larger political groups, as now among the Yorubas and Dahomans, but they seem to have been dethroned everywhere by Allah, leaving no traditions of their existence. Gods in the real sense do not exist among the heathens of this zone, but only fetiches. The Dinkas who have come into contact with Christian missionaries believe in a god and a devil; that the soul of a good man goes to heaven, whereas when a bad man dies "the devil comes from the desert and carries off his soul

[1] Featherman, p. 36. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 68. [3] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 142.

during the night to plunge it into hell or the land of fire." [1] A kind of god among the Malinkops, similar to that found in the other zones, is a subterranean something that "dwells in the bowels of the earth and is sovereign ruler of the regions where gold is produced." [2] Certain tribes near the Senegal River seem to share the belief, common in the lower zones, that conflagrations are due to the wrath of a fire deity, and they would consider it an insult to that deity to attempt to extinguish the flames of any house that had been set on fire. The most that they will do is to stand off and mumble prayers at the deity, or climb upon the house and spit in the blaze.[3]

Reverence for Serpents.—Many tribes in this zone seem to have a strong inclination towards serpent worship. "Snakes," says Schweinfurth, "are the only creatures to which either Dinkas or Shillooks pay any sort of reverence." They are called by name and are treated as domestic animals.[4] Among the Jolofs certain lizards are regarded as household gods and are daintily nourished on sweet milk.[5] Adanson states that the natives about the Senegal River have a reverence for a particular kind of serpent and allow it to grow and multiply in their huts and even to sleep with them.[6] The Shillooks have a sort of deified lizard or bird, being in fact sometimes the one and sometimes the other, which they regard as their ancestor and which is supposed to have led them to the pasture land that they now occupy.[7]

Few Sacrifices, Idols or Heathen Priests.—In this zone human sacrifices have disappeared. They used to take place among the Furs, who, according to Ratzel, held a spring festival called the feast of the Drums, in commemoration of deceased sovereigns, when several children were sacrificed and the skin of one of them was used to make a

[1] Featherman, p. 36. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 316. [3] Adanson, p. 255.
[4] Vol. I, p. 158. [5] Featherman, p. 160. [6] P. 231.
[7] Schweinfurth, Vol. I, p. 91; Featherman, p. 68.

new drum-head.[1] Even sacrifices of cattle, goats, sheep or other animals are very uncommon. Travelers sometimes refer to the sacrifice of oxen on the graves of the deceased,[2] but there are no great gods demanding regular sacrifices, and no public occasions, as in the banana zone, when wholesale sacrifices take place. The relative absence of sacrifices is due partly to the influence of Mohammedanism, partly to the temperate climate, which is not so inflammatory in its effect upon the people's minds, and partly to the isolation of the political groups before the advent of Mohammedanism, and, on that account, lack of opportunity to develop a polytheism, priesthood and ceremonial.

Priests other than those of the Mohammedan religion scarcely exist, owing to the absence of widely known gods. There are no idols, and the witch doctor, so all important and powerful in the lower zones, is here transformed into a sort of clown, buffoon, itinerant singer or quack doctor.[3] The less enervating climate, and the greater energy of body and mind necessary to live, have a tendency to clear man's mind of those extravagant fancies and terrors which are so universally characteristic of people who live under tropical skies.

[1] "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 290.
[2] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 307.
[3] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XXIX

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE CAMEL ZONE

Beliefs of the Tibbus.—Passing to the Tibbus of the camel zone we find that they were won over to Mohammedanism about three centuries ago, but like other Negro converts, blend a good deal of native superstition with their new religion. They have priests and offer sacrifices, but never in the form of human beings. They look upon certain mineral springs as divine, and offer sacrifices to them. They have the characteristic Negro faith in charms. Small leather bags containing sentences from the Koran are fastened as amulets to their turban or fez, and to their arms, legs and necks, and also to their spears or other weapons. Even horses and camels are equipped with these magic protectors.[1] A singular characteristic of the Tibbus is their dread of blacksmiths, who are regarded as magicians and treated as outcasts.[2]

General Considerations.—While the Tibbus have many superstitions, like all other people who are unacquainted with science, they do not mix with their superstitions those terrors which inflame the imagination and fill the universe with innumerable gods, demons, devils, and every conceivable malignant spirit.

Fear is the transcendent element in all equatorial religions, and even a strong element in the religions of the temperate zone where it is manifested by an aversion on part of the people to any inquiry into their traditional beliefs and superstitions. It makes people cowardly and closes the door of their minds to God's deepest truths and therefore to

[1] Featherman, p. 756.

[2] Reclus, Vol. 2, pp. 424, 428.

His highest revelations. It is the parent of intolerance and bigotry, and an enemy to both the expansion of mind and soul. The relatively sane view of the world taken by the Tibbus is due to the fact that nature deals niggardly with them and causes them to put forth strenuous efforts both mental and physical. Another factor to consider is that the phenomena of this zone are more regular and less terrible. The conditions, therefore, tend somewhat to develop the reason and not to overexcite the imagination.

Looking back over the four zones it seems that the number of deities, idols and superstitions of every kind diminishes as one moves away from the equator. Rain doctors appear only in regions where there is a dry season. The less man does for himself the more he leaves for the gods. In the banana zone the gods do much and men little, and when the people of that zone go to war they pay their deities instead of their soldiers. As the gods are supposed to cause success or failure in all important undertakings, men feel no incentive to exert their own powers. In the cattle zone the gods play a diminishing rôle, and man an increasing one. As monotheism begins to develop men begin to perceive that God is operating through them and not in competition with them.

Relation of Religion to Morality.—Many sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and theologians, as well as many laymen, hold that primitive religion has no connection with morality. For example, Ribot argues that religion and morality have an entirely independent development,[1] and the argument of Spencer is that morality is a later development than religion.[2] Ellis, who has studied the African religion at first hand, says that "religion is not in any way allied with moral ideas, whose source is essentially distinct, although the two become associated when man attains a higher degree of civilization. Murder, theft and offenses

[1] P. 315.

[2] "Data of Ethics," Chapter 7.

against the person or against property are matters in which the gods have no immediate concern and in which they take no interest, except in the case when, bribed by a valuable offering, they take up the quarrel in the interest of some faithful worshiper."[1]

However, a full consideration of the facts does not seem to support the views of these authorities. The truth seems to be that the operations of nature upon the savage are the fundamental imspirations of his moral perceptions, and that what he sees and believes as a consequence of these inspirations is only a visualized reflection of his dawning conscience. He is in this world seeking to find pleasure and to avoid pain. The impulse to inquire into the cause of things is the same as the impulse to inquire into the effects of them and the only reason for inquiring into either is that he may adjust his actions so as to obtain some good or escape some evil. When the savage hears the thunder he asks two questions. First, What is it? He gets the answer that it is a spirit. Second, Why is it angry? He gets the answer that he, himself, or some one of his fellowmen, has done something wrong—has offended the spirit. When the savage has a disease he asks two questions. First, What caused it? He gets the answer that a malignant spirit has invaded him. Second, Why has it invaded him? Because he or some one of his fellows has done some evil—has offended the spirit. Acting upon this kind of reasoning he seeks to avoid offending the thunder spirit or the disease spirit. He propitiates them and hires a magic man to conjure them that they may not do mischief. The moral significance of this acting is that he feels a sense of obligation to do or not to do certain things for the sake of the well-being of himself and his fellow men. He is learning from experience to avoid lines of conduct that entail suffering, and the motive of his action and the process of his thought are the same as those em-

[1] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 10.

ployed by the civilized man in arriving at his standard of right and wrong. The difference between the civilized and savage in this respect, is that the former acts more often upon realities, the latter upon fictions. But both base their conduct upon what they believe to be realities. The very notion of a God that has power to reward and punish, to make happy or miserable, is the result of an already awakened moral sense. It implies an attitude of inquiry towards questions of conduct—a power of self-approbation or blame —a sense of oughtness—a disposition to yield obedience to the ideal personality which the mind has conceived. Hence the religious and moral development in man spring from the same impulse of the soul, and all acts arising from the terror of gods are incipient manifestations of conscience. The savage is just as anxious that his fellow men act in a way to receive the blessing or avoid the wrath of a god, as he is careful so to act himself. His religion disciplines his mind to consider what acts are good or bad for the community and causes him to act so as to obtain the one and avoid the other. In this incipient moral state, man cannot reason clearly and therefore cannot distinguish clearly between acts which are in reality good or bad. On the one hand, the animal nature surviving in him impels him to acts of selfishness, cruelty and general bestiality, and on the other hand, the Divine Spirit in him impels him to acts of justice, duty and philanthropy. There is always this struggle going on in man between what he ought and ought not to do, and his religion is nothing but this inner struggle visualized and personified in the world of spirits, demons, ghosts, devils and gods. Any religion is evidence of some moral awakening and some presence of the inworking of the Divine Spirit. If man does foolish, immoral or cruel acts in connection with his religion, it is because his animal nature is strong and his Divine nature weak; and if he fails to make a connection between his religion and any of his social

activities it is not because religion develops independently of morals, but because he has not yet been able to apply his religion to the detailed relations of life. But as a matter of fact the writer does not believe that there are any activities of the savage that are not connected in one way or another with his religion. The savage even attributes his appetites and passions, and his likes and dislikes, to the promptings of some spirit. The forces of nature that operate upon and in man are only the voices of God speaking to his conscience, and they are obeyed with the same moral motive that governs the conduct of the most conscientious civilized man. The ethical element, though born with religion, is at first feeble and gradually develops as religion develops. When the African believes that Shango will set fire to the house of any one who steals, it indicates a consciousness that stealing is wrong.

Religion and Morality Inseparable.—Indeed, it seems to the writer that religion and morality have not only developed together, but that they are so interwoven that one cannot survive without the other. As soon as the savage begins to have moral conceptions his mind projects or ejects imaginary spirits or persons that are merely the reflection of his own personality. Some of these spirits are good, but most of them are bad, corresponding to the preponderance of evil in his nature. As his good and bad impulses are vacillating, so he has a variety of deities that appeal to good and bad acts. As there is in him a struggle between the good and the bad, so the struggle goes on between the good and the bad deities; and as the good in him finally triumphs over the bad, so the good deities finally triumph over all of the evil or indifferent ones; and at any stage of development, the deities that a man sees and believes in, correspond to the ideals by which he is governed, or to state it in another way, a man's ideas of right and wrong always correspond to one or more definite personalities, how-

ever changeable, to whom he refers all questions of conduct.

Morality Cannot Develop From Mere Abstract Considerations.—Neither primitive man nor civilized man can develop his ethical nature by purely abstract thinking. An idea cannot influence a man's moral nature until it becomes an ideal, *i. e.*, until it becomes personified and appeals to his feelings as an individual that he loves can do. In the last analysis the ethical ideas are always personified and stand out in the mind's eye as God, or as several spiritual personalities, according to which man seeks to shape his conduct and which are made up of fragments of mother, father, child, friend, hero or prophet. Whether man recognizes as real the god or personifications that make up his moral consciousness, they are in fact always the spirit of God revealing itself according as man yields to it. A man can be moral only by a constant reference of his conduct to his God or Ideal and a constant attitude of obedience to that authority. A man's moral nature and his conception of God act reciprocally upon each other. The vision of God or Ideal Ruler, Judge or Counselor builds up his moral nature, and at the same time, the elevation of his moral nature expands and perfects his conception of God. Baldwin expresses this psychological truth in the statement that, "Without the recognition of the ideal self embodied in religious institutions and necessarily so embodied, ethical growth is impossible." [1]

The Brutal and Licentious Element in Religious Rites

[1] "Fragments," p. 336. Baldwin says, "The impulse to read self into others, *i. e.*, to recognize personality as more than individual, with its final development in the recognition of ideal personality—this is what, in my opinion, a genetic account of religion requires. . . ."—"Fragments," p. 329. He says again that "the attributes of the deity at any stage of religious development are drawn from the thought of ideal personality. . . . Religion is the embodiment on part of society of the highest personality."—*Ibid.*, p. 332. The same thought is brought out in his "Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development," pp. 357, 443, etc.

not the Outcome of Religion, but of Man's Ignorance and the Survival of His Animal Nature After the Dawn of Religion.—But how are we to reconcile the horrible sacrifices, abominable magic and unbridled licentiousness connected with primitive religion with the idea that religion and morality are inseparable? The reply is that these practices are simply the result of ignorance, and the survival of man's animal impulses after the dawn of religion. The people believe them to be essential to the general welfare and carry them out with the best of intentions. The practices in themselves may be ever so foolish, injurious or immoral, but the motives behind them are moral. No one doubts that Moses was a great moralist and prophet, yet he believed in, and put in operation, the practice of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—a practice condemned by Christ. If in the name of religion pious men encourage lust, avarice, malice, bigotry, human sacrifices, inquisitions, burnings at the stake and exterminating wars, it is because of defective reasoning and inability to discern truth from error. If there is inconsistency between the good motives and bad practices of the savage, or any other believer in religion, it is on account of lack of knowledge and it ought to teach all men that reliance upon mere moral motives can never meet the demands of true religion but that the motives must be combined with intelligence, careful investigation of the effects of conduct and constant adjustment of doctrines and standards of conduct to an ever-increasing enlightenment. It ought to teach the unwisdom of a blind adherence to the external and traditional authorities imposed by a past age, instead of obeying the direct inspirations of the inner spirit and the revelations of truth as manifested by the Creator in the physical and social laws of His universe. Man is a part of God, and God's kingdom is in man. In man, therefore, operative as God, or as Divine Spirit, is that stream of power making for righteousness of which the philosopher speaks,

that infinite and eternal energy of which the scientist speaks, and that spirit "within you" of which Christ speaks, causing man to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, give drink to the thirsty, hospitality to the stranger and to love all men as himself. Those who seek to make religion something mysterious and other than goodness and perfect living, should fear lest on the day of judgment they be of that "many" who will say—"Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?" and to whom Christ will say, "I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity."

CHAPTER XXX

ÆSTHETIC LIFE IN THE BANANA ZONE

Love of Beauty and Appreciation of Art Universal.—In order to understand the æsthetic life of the Negro two things are necessary. First, to realize that love of beauty is not a cultivated characteristic of human beings but is as natural and fundamental as the appetite for food. Cultivation may change man's interest from one form of beauty to another but not his fundamental liking for it. Second, to discard the prevalent notion that art is a sort of superfluous adjunct to civilization, a frill or ornamental touch like the volutes and carvings of a piece of architecture after all of the solid work is finished. This view has been taken unfortunately by many historians who do not think it worth while to consider the art of a people until a certain degree of progress is reached or until some great artist comes upon the scene whose works command national admiration. Few historians have ever made any effort to interpret art or to explain its development. It is generally considered as something mysterious and difficult to understand, and is therefore left to be grappled with by a few men like Ruskin and Taine, who are supposed to have been born with a special æsthetic sense. In the popular mind art is something imported from France and suitable for people of leisure and wealth. The theologians look askance at it and men of affairs regard it as something curious and effeminate and pride themselves on knowing nothing about it. Until recent years it was left entirely out of college curriculums. The first art introduced in schools was literature, and for a long time that was not regarded as an essential part of education. The study of

all of the fine arts has been left almost exclusively to private schools in which there is greater confusion and misunderstanding of art than anywhere else, for the reason that in these schools it is not art that is studied but only technique. As a matter of fact art is not something that has a special connection with civilization or the educated classes, but it is as universal as man and differs among races and nations rather in character than in the degree of interest felt in it. If there is any difference between the savage and civilized man in attention given to art the difference is in favor of the savage, for as civilization advances men tend, perhaps unfortunately, to be guided more by science and less by art.

Mutilations and Tattooing.—Savage men usually devote much time to the adornment of their bodies, in this respect resembling many of the lower species of animals. It is a common observation that peacocks, flamingoes, barn-yard fowls and, indeed, nearly all birds, have an eye to the beauty of their plumage; that the cat and other feline species wash their faces and lick their fur into a gloss; that butterflies and other insects glory in their motley colors and brilliant illuminations; and that even snakes dress gaudily and change their styles with the change of the seasons. Perhaps among primitive men personal decorations were first displayed by tattooing, *i. e.*, perforating or cutting lines upon their skin, a practice which probably originated at a time when the matriarchate was universal and before children came to have individual names. Instead of giving a special name to each member of the family or tribe, all of the same blood on the mother's side were designated by a common tattoo mark. Later, when the naming of children came into general use, the practice of tattooing was continued as a mark of distinction for some notable achievement or as a mere ornament. Men who had slain a wild beast, or an enemy, or, in some cases, who had only undergone the ceremonies of initiation into manhood, would be entitled to so many

scars on the cheek, forehead or chest. As curious and senseless as this practice may at first seem it is not without its value in the evolution of civilization. In the absence of historians, poets, and monuments to proclaim human achievements, it is neither surprising nor regrettable that the savage should record them upon his skin where the public may observe and admire them. The civilized man who depends upon the newspaper, magazine, or history to record his deeds, has reason very often to be disappointed. Either the space given to him is not adequate, or he is overshadowed by some other man, or he is entirely unnoticed. All of this is avoided when a man uses his chest and abdomen as a placard to advertise who he is and what he has achieved. But to be serious, tattooing has two distinct merits. First, it shows a love of public esteem, a striving for some kind of distinction, and second, it teaches the lesson that distinction can be won only by a man who has risked or suffered something, since the mere cutting of the skin involves pain. This is a lesson which civilized people have not yet sufficiently learned, for too many of them gain their distinctions by making others suffer. Although tattooing, as a survival among civilized people, is regarded by criminologists and anthropologists as a sign of degeneracy, it is not altogether unbecoming if cut in the right fashion.

In the course of time, however, savage men found other means of distinguishing themselves. They accumulated wealth, raised cattle, acquired slaves, built houses, granaries, etc. Then tattooing was kept up merely as a decoration. Among the people of the banana zone tattooing is very widely practiced, and varies much in significance and in styles. In some districts it exists in the form of skin patterns to designate families and tribes; in other districts it is a mark of personal distinction; and in still other districts it is a mere decoration, while among the Dahomans it

scarcely exists.[1] Some tribes tattoo the entire body from head to knee; others tattoo only lines upon their cheeks, chests, temples or foreheads.[2] The Ibos cut the skin of the forehead so that it always hangs down over the eyes like a visor.[3]

Another means of beautifying the person common to the Negroes of this zone is that of filing their teeth. This is done in a variety of styles of which the most popular is that of sharpening them to a point in imitation of the teeth of the crocodile.[4]

Body Painting.—The practice of body painting is not so common in this zone as in other parts of Africa, the chief reason being that the people have rather dark skins that do not make good backgrounds for colors. Among the white and yellow races, body painting is, and has been, more universal. Even the man of the Neolithic age adorned his body with paint, as we know from the pigment found among his bones, implements and other relics. Body painting was also common among the American Indians and the ancient Aryans. Pliny says that in the early days of Rome, it was the custom for the conquerors to paint themselves red in celebration of their victories. "The ancient Britons," says Tylor, "though a nation of considerable civilization, have been treated by many historians as mere savages because they kept up this rude practice, as Cæsar says, of staining themselves blue with woad (leaves) and so being of horrider aspect in war. Among ourselves, the guise which was so terrific in the Red-Indian warrior, has come down to make the circus clown a pattern of folly. It is very likely that his paint-striped face may represent a fashion come down from ancient times when paint was worn by the barbarians of Europe, much as in Japan actors paint their faces with

[1] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 266.
[2] Drake, p. 28; Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, pp. 284, 345.
[3] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 330. [4] Duncan, Vol. 2, p. 309; Drake, p. 28.

bright streaks of red, doubtless keeping up what was once an ordinary decoration."[1] It may be added that some civilized people still paint and powder.

Hair Dressing.—In the tonsorial art the people of this zone take a high rank. As the climate renders clothing a superfluity, the hair offers the best field for display of taste and styles in dress. In some tribes the hair stands out in big tufts on the crown of the head resembling a scouring-broom; among other tribes it grows in small tufts as if the head were planted with paint-brushes; elsewhere it is twisted into long prongs like the horns of an ox; and in still other places it is piled upon the head like a hay-stack or, as among the Negroes of America, twisted into ringlets and divided, like all Gaul, into three parts.[2]

Ornamental Clothing, Jewelry, Etc.—Clothing does not come in for much in the way of artistic expression. The original dress of this region was a cloth of woven grass worn like a hilt.[3] In many districts this cloth is still worn, except in case of children, who always go naked. Natives who have come in contact with the culture of the interior, wear a variously colored dress made of cotton, which reaches from the waist to the knee, and in addition to this, a mantle of some stuff is thrown over the shoulder, leaving exposed one side of the breast. In Ashanti, caps of leopard skins are worn by the aristocracy, and sandals of red, green and white leather.[4] Since the invasion of the European, the styles of dress have become exceedingly gaudy and grotesque. Nothing delights the native kings and princes more than to bedeck themselves in the second-hand paraphernalia of European soldiers or civilians. Describing the dress of an Ashanti king, Freeman says that he wore a brown velvet coat, white satin trousers, white linen shirt, black beaver

[1] "Anthropology," p. 237.
[2] Featherman, pp. 176, 205, 222.
[3] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 394.
[4] Featherman, pp. 176, 205, 222; Freeman, p. 146.

hat with a band of silver lace, and a spotted silk muslin sash, etc.[1]

But the natives make up for their scant clothing by a vast array of jewelry and trinkets. Necklaces, armlets, anklets and ringlets are in vogue everywhere, some being made of gold, some of ivory and brass, and some of woven vegetable fibres.[2] The amount of gold and other finery displayed by the kings and princes of Ashanti is astonishing to all European travelers. Freeman speaks of the king of Ashanti as wearing sandals ornamented with gold and silver, a pair of knives with mother-of-pearl handles sheathed in gold and suspended from his neck by a golden chain, while another gold chain, coiling six or eight times around his neck, hung loosely down his breast.[3] The royal families fairly load their ankles, wrists, breasts, shoulders and necks with gold ornaments.[4] Allen and Thomson describe a princess whose arms were so heavily burdened with brass rings that she was obliged to have an attendant on each side of her to support each arm.[5] Even her toes were laden with these metallic decorations. In some communities, in addition to other jewelry, the women wear brass wire coiled from ankle to knee. It is not surprising to learn therefore that the total weight of iron and brass and other rings worn by an African belle on State occasions will sometimes amount to fifty pounds, and that the metal often gets so hot under the burning rays of the sun that an attendant has to go along with a watering pot to cool it off.

Dancing.—The people of this zone, in common with savages everywhere, are much given to dancing. On moonlight nights along the banks of the Niger, the natives gather and dance until an early hour in the morning.[6] The fact that the dancing takes place at night is due to the climate, which is unfavorable to spirited activity during the day. If

[1] P. 139. [2] Hawkins, p. 89. [3] P. 139.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 146. [5] Vol. 1, p. 284. [6] Staudinger, p. 39.

the question be asked, why the savage gives so much attention to the dance, the answer is that all strong emotions tend to express themselves in rhythmical movements of the body. The pent up emotion of the caged lion, or other animal, is often manifested by a swaying of his body from one side to the other, and in like manner, the pent-up emotions of a human being require some kind of rhythmical manifestation. For example, in convulsive laughter people often swing their bodies backward and forward, and when a barefoot boy stumps his toe, he hops in a circle and hums a tune. At religious meetings when people become emotionally aroused, they sometimes swing their bodies, stamp their feet or clap their hands in rhythmical regularity, and more commonly still, when people are in deep sorrow, they wring their hands and mourn in measured notes of lamentation. This explains why poetry and impassioned prose are always expressed in rhythmical lines. The savage cannot so well express his emotions in words, or find vent for them in the thousands of avenues available for civilized people, and hence he is the more inclined to express them in movements of his body. It is not at all strange, then, that all of the feelings that originate from the joys and sorrows of his life should be expressed in some kind of dance. To some degree at least dancing among savages corresponds to poetry, painting, the novel and the drama among the civilized people. The general notion that the dancing of savages is altogether frivolous and sensuous is quite erroneous. The sensuous element, perhaps predominates, but there are times when dancing appeals to, and awakens, many of the higher emotions; for example, dancing in celebration of the capture of game, in preparation of war, or of planting the fields, or in celebration of the ripening of fruits and the gathering of the harvest. Such dances inspire courage, the feeling of gratitude, loyalty and social solidarity. At the courts of Ashanti and Dahomi, instead of recording the deeds of the kings, as

among civilized people, in great paintings or in books of poetry and history, they are sung by the court women to the accompaniment of dancing.[1] Thus it is evident that the Africans express in their dances many of the same feelings that civilized people embody in the more refined forms of art. The civilized people stir up their war spirit by means of the editorial, the oration, the novel and the cartoon. They commemorate great national achievements by a fourth of July or a fourteenth of July, when they pop firecrackers, parade the streets and see how much noise they can make. They express their rejoicing over the gathered harvest by a Thanksgiving Day, when they see how much they can eat and drink. Among all races of men dancing has been one of the chief means of expressing their emotions of joy, sorrow, love, hatred, revenge or of religious reverence, or gratitude for the bounty of Nature. Besides the many examples of dancing found in the Bible, it may be mentioned that the Egyptians used to sing and dance as they marched to their temples of worship, that the Greeks sang and danced to Apollo, and that the Salian priests of Rome sang and danced along the streets at the yearly festival of Mars. Even the early Christian church often introduced dancing as a regular part of the service. The reason that modern people pay less attention to dancing is that it has been superseded by other forms of art.

The Drama.—In this zone the drama exists only in very incipient form. Duncan witnessed among the Fantis a kind of entertainment which might be classed as a drama, in which the natives put on masks representing themselves as bears, monkeys and other animals, and performing all manner of buffoonery.[2] According to Grosse, the drama everywhere originated from the dance. Whenever men in their dances mimic an animal or imitate hunting, fighting or wife

[1] Freeman, p. 148; Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 247; Forbes, Vol. 2, p. 21.
[2] Vol. 1, p. 247.

capture, the dance at once merges into the drama. Spencer takes the same view. He says that the drama originated from the mimicry and gesticulations of the primitive priests as they led the ceremonial dance.[1] However, this explanation is hardly correct. A kind of embryonic drama may be observed in the play of all animals, whenever they imitate fighting or hunting, or in the play of children, when they imitate domestic life with their toy-houses and dolls, or military and industrial life with their bows and arrows, drums, pop-guns, engines, and wagons. From this point of view the drama probably existed long before the dance. Many writers not only seek to find the origin of the drama in the dance, but also poetry and music. But the fact seems rather to be that these arts have their origin in the physiological and psychological constitution of human nature. The dance has unquestionably favored the development of these arts, but it is no more the origin of them than the church is the origin of religion, or the State the origin of government. The disposition of modern writers to trace everything to a communal origin must give way as more light breaks in upon the life of the savage.

Music.—But if the Negroes take a low rank in the dramatic art, they take a high rank in the art of song. Perhaps no people in the world are so fond of singing. The boatman sings all day long keeping time with his paddles, the woman pounding grain beats in time to her voice, the carrier sings to his tread and the farmer to his hoe. Joy, grief and pain are all sown in spontaneous song.[2] As a rule, the African songs are nothing but monotonous and often improvised recitatives.[2] In the Calabar region there are some strolling minstrels who may be met in the streets carrying a large kind of net, to which are dangling such

[1] "Principles of Sociology," Vol. 3, p. 228.
[2] *Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 19, n. s., p. 799.
[3] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 328.

odd things as pythons' back-bones, tobacco pipes, bits of china, feathers, birds' heads, reptiles' heads and bones, and to every one of these objects hangs a tale or song. You select an object and pay for the song to which it corresponds. Miss Kingsley was fortunate enough one day to meet one of these minstrels who had attached to his net a human hand and a human jaw-bone. "They were his only songs," she says, and, "I heard them both regardless of expense. I did not understand them because I did not know his language, but they were fascinating things, and the human hand one had a passage in it which caused the singer to crawl on his hands and knees round and round, stealthily looking this side and that, giving the peculiar leopard questing cough and making the leopard mark on the earth with his doubled-up fist. O! That was something like a song! It would have roused a rock to enthusiasm: a civilized audience would have smothered its singer with bouquets—I —well, the headman with me had to interfere and counsel moderation in the heads of tobacco." [1]

The chief musical instruments of this zone are the drum, tambourine, a trumpet made of ivory, a long wooden pipe which sounds like a bellowing ox,[2] and several kinds of harps.

Painting, Drawing, and Sculpture.—In the line of painting and drawing this zone has almost nothing to offer. It is said that the Fantis have no idea of pictorial design and do not even make the rudest attempts at pictures.[3] In sculpture and carving the quantity is great and the quality is poor. The idols are made of wood or clay, and are generally caricatures of the objects they are supposed to represent. The carving of weapons, tools, etc., however, is sometimes very good. Weapons are usually ornamented with figures of men, reptiles and other animals.[4]

[1] "West African Studies," p. 127.
[2] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 26.
[3] Brackenbury, p. 327.
[4] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 247.

In this connection the writer recalls a statement of Ruskin's that the people who are the most cruel and cold-hearted always bestow the most exquisite workmanship upon their weapons. Stanley saw some carved soup-ladles in Ashanti that an European workman might be proud of, and a carved stool which would adorn any drawing-room.[1] There are scarcely any attempts at architecture or the ornamentation of houses. Nevertheless, the front part of buildings is sometimes ornamented with figures of animals.[2] Stanley describes a home in Ashanti which he thought rose to some architectural pretensions. The walls, to a height of three feet above the ground, were painted an ochrish red, and above that, they were painted a waxen white, covered with designs in relief. The cornices were set off with many grooves and freizes, and the pediments were something of the Ionic order.[3] The natives of this zone have a large stock of folk-stories, which, however, have no particular meaning or moral.

Love of Nature.—Nowhere in this zone do the people seem to show any appreciation of nature. This is perhaps because nature is so often manifested in a hostile form, causing deaths from lightning, from earthquakes, hurricanes and diseases, and hence the attitude towards it is always that of terror. It is only where nature is less hostile or where it has, in a measure, been conquered, that men come to be on friendly terms with it and to manifest love for it.

[1] "Coomassie," p. 167.
[2] Freeman, p. 55; Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 387.
[3] "Coomassie," p. 167.

CHAPTER XXXI

ÆSTHETIC LIFE IN THE MILLET ZONE

Mutilations of Skin, Lips and Teeth.—Tattooing is not so common in this zone, except along the lower borders in proximity to the banana zone. Although it exists to some extent among the Hausas,[1] Lander observed it first at Egga on his trip down the Niger.[2] The women of Bidjii have the flesh on their foreheads raised in the shape of marbles and their cheeks similarly cut up and deformed.[3] The Kakandas have three gashes on each cheek.[4] The Krumen have marks only on their foreheads.[5] The Mandingo women tattoo their lips and fill in the perforations with a blue coloring substance.[6] Some of the Sienré men tattoo marks upon their stomachs, while all of the women have their stomachs and chests tattooed in the forms of ornamental squares, lozenges and bizarre geometric figures.[7] In the eastern part of this zone tattooing is practiced by the Bongos, Shulis and Madis.[8]

The wearing of lip ornaments seems to have a peculiar fascination for the people of this zone. In the eastern section along the Nile the people wear a silver nail in the lower lip, two of the lower teeth having to be knocked out to make room for it.[9] Baker saw two old women on the banks of the Nile quarreling over some broken pieces of thermometer with which to ornament their lips.[10] Such ornaments are found in many of the Upper Nile regions and

[1] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 344. [2] Vol. 2, p. 131.
[3] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 94. [4] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 2, p. 105.
[5] Spilsbury, p. 125. [6] Lasnet, p. 84. [7] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 213.
[8] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 27; Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 298.
[9] Letourneau, p. 88. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

also in many districts of the west.[1] Ear ornaments are not so common but are worn by the people of Bidjii and perhaps elsewhere.[2]

The practice of multilating the teeth is in vogue more or less throughout the entire millet region, and among the Nile people it is universal.[3] The styles of deformation vary according to locality. In some places the people are satisfied to knock out a few front teeth; elsewhere they file the upper incisors to a point,[4] and in still other places they cut an inverted V between the upper incisors.[5] In the east the upper incisors are filed to a point and the lower ones knocked out.[6] The practice of filing to a point extends through the equatorial regions from Bongo to the Kassai River.[7]

Body Painting and Hair Dressing.—Body painting is very popular and grotesque in this zone. The Nile people paint and grease their bodies to such an extent that it is difficult to discern the real color of their skin.[8] In the west, instead of painting the entire body, the natives prefer to put on only a few artistic touches here and there. For example, the women of Kano dye their hands, feet, legs and eyebrows.[9] The inhabitants of Nyffee dye their hands, feet, eyebrows, eyelashes and lips.[10] The Borgus dye their lips, teeth, and finger and toe-nails.[11] The women of Yauri are satisfied to give their lips a delicate coloring of blue or yellow.[12] Lip painting is also common among the Mandingos[13] and Hausas, the favorite color of the former being blue and of the latter red. The Hausas also use red to color their teeth.[14]

[1] Binger, Vol. 1, pp. 184, 213; Lander, Vol. 1, p. 300.
[2] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 94.
[3] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 27.
[4] Spilsbury, p. 125.
[5] Wood, p. 612.
[6] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 525.
[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 69.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 28.
[9] Clapperton, "Journey to Kouka and Sackatoo," p. 47.
[10] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 172.
[11] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 248.
[12] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 300.
[13] Lasnet, p. 84.
[14] Featherman, p. 391.

The art of head decoration is not carried to such extravagant heights in this zone, for the reason, perhaps, that other means of showing off are more effective and less troublesome. Still the tonsorial art here loses nothing of its originality or picturesqueness. The women of Nupe and Kano usually plait their hair and dye it with indigo,[1] and the same style prevails in other cities.[2] By the way, does not this style suggest that the first wool dyeing was upon the human head?

Jewelry and Clothing.—The adornment of the body by means of rings, bracelets, armlets, and anklets is everywhere the fashion, but is not carried to the same excess as in the banana zone. The more numerous and more bedizened articles of clothing render such ornaments less necessary. For example, among the Hausas, unmarried girls and boys wear "a piece of cotton drapery of blue and white check, notched at the edge with red woolen cloth. It is tied around the waist with two broad bands ornamented with red stripes, the loose ends of which reach down behind the ankles. The men are dressed in tunics of blue dyed cotton cloth. Both the men and women of the higher classes cover their shoulders with a kind of shawl or mantle."[3] The styles are varied but always graceful.[4] Skins, sandals and hats and turbans are more generally used than among the people near the coast. The Yorubas twist a handkerchief around their heads or wear a palm leaf hat or fez cap.[5] The Bambaras sometimes wear a cotton cap pointed at the summit and embroidered with many colored threads, and again they wear a large straw hat surmounted with a colored tuft of straw.[6] However, among some tribes the wearing apparel is reduced to a minimum. For example, the Bongo men wear only a piece of bark cloth between their legs, while

[1] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," pp. 47, 171. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[3] Featherman, p. 391. [4] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 394.
[5] Featherman, p. 194. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 332.

the women wear only a banana leaf suspended from their belt. Every morning a Bongo lady gets her costume fresh from the forest.[1] Bark cloth is quite extensively worn throughout the forest regions of this zone. Of course feathers, beads and so forth are used everywhere for trimmings.

Dancing.—Dancing is universal except among a few Mandingos who have been converted to Mohammedanism and who regard it as a heathenish practice.[2] In the city of Jenne, the people romp and dance every night to the accompaniment of vocal and instrumental music, the performers being liberally supplied with beer, and the affair usually ending in intoxication and wrangling.[3] One evening on the banks of the Niger, Lander saw some young girls, and women with infants on their backs, dancing, romping and clapping hands with the utmost agility. As now and then a dancer fell to the ground exhausted, another began anew, and the merry exercise thus continued until daylight. Lander thinks that the moonlight dances on the Niger are irresistibly charming.[4] Speaking of one of these dances at Lever, he says, "In the evening the inhabitants of the town assembled outside our house to amuse themselves by dancing and singing in the moonlight; for notwithstanding all of their misfortunes and oppressions, they never refrain from indulging with all of their hearts in these sprightly and thoughtless entertainments. Every dancer held in each hand a cow's tail. They were all dressed grotesquely and a great quantity of strings of cowries encircled their legs and bodies which made a loud, rattling noise. The singing, clapping of hands and bursts of laughter made the occasion one of great merriment."[5] Binger says that at Tengrela, the relative prosperity brings to the evenings much gaiety, and the little children with

[1] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 294. [2] Bowen, p. 42.
[3] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 105. [4] Vol. 1, pp. 306, 307. [5] Vol. 2, p. 40.

torches in their hands, dance to the music of a rude harp until nine o'clock.[1] In Yoruba the young people are also very fond of dancing. They shuffle and jump to the beat of the drum, and if their movements are never graceful, they are, at least, not immodest. The one who can throw his feet, hands, head and body in the most grotesque manner is considered the best dancer.[2]

Drama.—The drama, in this, as in the banana zone, is seen only in its infancy. A rude beginning of it is found among the Krumen, who, sometimes in their dances, attempt to represent a hunting scene.[3] It has a more distinct development at Katunga where the people are accustomed to act plays or pantomimes on occasions when caboceers are on a visit to the king. One of these plays, for instance, represents catching a boa-constrictor. While a man acts as ring master, several other men arrange themselves in a row, covered with cloth representing an immense boa. The sham serpent now twists and turns and attempts to bite the ring master, who, after a struggle, overcomes it and bears it off in triumph to a fetich house. Another play, inspired, no doubt, by some embryonic Juvenal, is a sort of satire on the white man, who is impersonated by placing in an upright position, a figure cast in wax, and making it take food, snuff and perform other antics illustrative of the white man's peculiarities.[4]

Music.—Fondness for singing is no less characteristic of the people of this zone. At Kong, says Binger, the young people do not dance at night, but form processions and sing in chorus to the accompaniment of the tam tam and bells.[5] Schweinfurth observed that the Bongos "down to the small boys are all musicians." Any hour of the day they may be heard strumming away and singing a babbling

[1] Vol. 1, p. 184. [2] Bowen, p. 302. [3] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 2, p. 225.
[4] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 86.
[5] Vol. 1, p. 300.

recitative.[1] The propensity of the Negroes to sing is so great that they often express in song anything they may happen to be thinking about. A good example of this is given by Mungo Park. Once, after his caravan had been devastated by death and his horse lost, he reached the town of Sego, where he sat all day under the shade of a tree, without food and without being able to induce any one to take notice of him. But just as night fell and he was about to climb a tree to escape the wild beasts, an old woman returning from her work in the field, looked with compassion on him, took up his saddle and bridle and told him to follow her. She led him to her hut, broiled some fish for him, and pointing to a mat, told him he might sleep there. During a good part of the night, she, together with some women who were spinning cotton in the hut, sang in plaintive tones the following song:

"The winds roared and the rains fell;
The poor white man, faint and weary,
Came and sat under our tree;
He has no mother to bring him milk,
No wife to grind his corn."

Chorus:

"Let us pity the white man: no mother has he," etc.

The musical instruments used by the people of this zone are numerous and varied, including the drum, tam tam, reed pipes, triangles, trumpets, flutes, harps, guitars, fiddles, castanets, etc.[2] The Hausas have regular traveling musicians and singers.[3]

Painting and Sculpture.—Paintings are found only here and there. At Busah, Clapperton noticed some figures of human beings, and also of a boa, alligator and tortoise

[1] Vol. 1, pp. 287, 289.

[2] Lasnet, pp. 88, 95; Binger, Vol. 1, p. 184; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 39; Binger, Vol. 1, p. 300; Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 117; Staudinger, p. 598.

[3] Staudinger, p. 606.

painted on the walls of a fetich house.[1] To paint a landscape, historical event or even a hunting scene, does not seem to have ever occurred to the people of this zone.

Rude sculpture or carving prevails among all of the heathen tribes but only to a slight extent among the Mohammedans, whose religion forbids the imitation of the human figure.[2] Clay figures representing men, and sundry animals are very common.[3] Wood-carving is found in a good many towns. At Kiama, Lander observed that the legs of stools were sometimes ornamented with the figure of some animal, as, for example, that of the hippopotamus.[4] Most often the chairs and wooden pillows used in the houses are prettily carved.[5] In Hausaland, the children make little clay horses, camels, etc.[6] At Jenne, the fetich priests wear suspended from their necks, small pieces of wood, carved in imitation of men's faces.[7] The women of Egga, as mentioned in another connection, wear on their heads, wooden figures of little children.[8] The court-yards of well-to-do people are sometimes adorned with little statues of men and women.[9] Among the Bongos, carved figures are found upon the gateways of palisaded enclosures or set up beside huts as monuments to renowned ancestors.[10] Everywhere implements, calabashes, and the like, are ornamented with carvings of one kind and another.[11] Wood-carving is not so well developed among the Hausas as farther south among the Nupes and Yorubas,[12] perhaps for the reasons that wood in Hausaland is not so abundant and that the Mohammedan religion prohibits the representation of the human body.

[1] "Second Expedition," p. 157.
[2] Staudinger, p. 589.
[3] Lander, Vol. 2, p. 28.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 204.
[5] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 39.
[6] Staudinger, p. 591.
[7] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 104.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 120.
[9] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 79.
[10] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 284.
[11] Lander, Vol. 1, p. 104; Bowen, p. 296; Staudinger, p. 589.
[12] Staudinger, p. 589; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 309.

Architecture : Folk-Lore.—The effort to give an architectural finish to houses is more obvious in this zone. The Yorubas frequently sculpture on their temple doors figures representing serpents, tortoises, leopards, fish, etc.,[1] and in some districts similar designs adorn the ordinary houses.[2] The Bambaras decorate the interior of their houses with figures of oxen, horses, birds, and sundry other beings.[3] At Katunga, the posts that support the verandas of houses, as well as the doors of the houses, are often ornamented with carvings of the boa, hog, horse and also of men and slaves.[4]

In the matter of folk-lore and animal stories, the Yorubas perhaps take the lead in this zone. They have professional story-tellers who wander from place to place reciting many imaginary experiences of men with animals. There are also narrators of the national traditions who are attached to each king or chief, and who act as depositories of the ancient chronicles.[5] The general trend of the stories is about the same as in the banana zone and the absence of any moral application is no less conspicuous.

[1] Bowen, p. 315. [2] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 184.
[3] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 205. [4] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 79.
[5] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 244.

CHAPTER XXXII

ÆSTHETIC LIFE IN THE CATTLE ZONE

Mutilations.—The practice of tattooing is found in this zone among the Dinkas,[1] Shillooks,[2] Kanuris,[3] Baris, Shulis, Nuers,[4] Latukas,[5] and among some of the tribes of Fellatahs.[6] Knocking out the teeth and wearing lip ornaments are common in the east and infrequent in the west.[7] The higher classes among the Kanuris introduce a piece of coral in the right wing of the nostril,[8] and it is the fashion of the women to dye their eyebrows, hands, arms, feet and legs with indigo, and their finger and toe-nails with the ruddy henna. Both the Kanuri and Fellatah women dye their eyelashes with black antimony.[9]

Body Painting.—The practice of painting the body in this zone is more common in the east than in the west, the reason being that the people of the east have lighter skins. Among some tribes the color of the paint upon their bodies is a means of denoting class distinctions. For instance among the Shillooks "when the ashes are prepared from wood, they render the body perfectly gray, and hereby are known the poor: when the ashes are obtained from cow-dung, they give a rusty red tint, the hue of red devils, and hereby can be recognized the landowners. Ashes, dung and the urine of cows are indispensable requisites of the toilet."[10]

[1] Featherman, p. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 273; Wood, p. 690; Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 344.
[4] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 27.
[5] Featherman, p. 79.
[6] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 382; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, p. 308.
[7] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 27, 277, 289; Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 150; Featherman, pp. 29, 78, 272.
[8] Featherman, p. 272.
[9] Wood, p. 689; Featherman, p. 383.
[10] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 88.

Jewelry.—Earrings are generally worn in all parts of this zone, but vary much in quantity and quality. Those worn by the Dinkas are made of iron[1] and also those of the Nuers which sometimes measure a foot in diameter.[2] The Dinkas also fetter their wrists and ankles with great quantities of iron rings.[3] The Jolofs sometimes wear as many as six gold rings in one ear, besides wearing necklaces, bracelets, and anklets of gold, silver, coral or beads. They wear around their waists sometimes thirty or forty strings of variously colored beads which make a jingling sound with every movement of the body.[4] Throughout this zone there is the usual display of necklaces, anklets, bracelets so characteristic of the Negroes generally.

Hair Dressing.—The most fashionable color for dyeing the hair, especially in the eastern part of the zone seems to be red. The Nuers dye their hair a tawny red by binding it up for a fortnight in a compo of ashes and cow-dung,[5] while the Dinkas give to their hair a lustrous red hue by means of a simple application of the cow-liquid.[6] The Fellatah women often plait their hair in tresses and color it blue with indigo.[7] It ought to be added that in doing up their hair the people show equally much taste as in coloring it. The young Dinka dandies train their hair into stiff pointed tufts which stand out like the bristles of a porcupine,[8] and the Kanuri ladies, after plastering their hair with bees-wax, do it up in a large central roll which expands at the end like a bird's tail or the peak of a helmet.[9] The Jolofs, after glossing their hair with an application of butter, arrange it into long, beautiful tresses.[10]

Clothing.—In the matter of clothing, the people go to the opposite extremes of too much and not enough. Among

[1] Featherman, p. 29. [2] *Geographic Journal*, Vol. 16, p. 182.
[3] Featherman, p. 29. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 351.
[5] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 119. [6] Featherman, p. 29.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 383. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 29. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 272. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 350.

the Shillooks all of the men and children go about perfectly naked, while the women barely conceal themselves behind a calf-skin apron reaching to their knees and embroidered with glass beads, iron rings and bells.[1] The Dinkas and Latukas also disdain clothing with the exception of the women who gird themselves with two flaps of untanned skin.[2] Among the eastern people, cows' and goats' tails often lend a picturesqueness to their scant attire.[3] Skull caps are sometimes worn decorated with cowry shells or ostrich feathers.[4] Among nude people one would imagine that ladies and gentlemen would not occupy much time in making their toilet, and that they would therefore escape some of the annoyances of civilized people. But alas, even nude men and women have to do up their hair, grease and paint it, bind body and soul together with some kind of girdle, adjust rings, anklets, touch up their lips and toe-nails with some indigo or what not. Binger says that when a Negro is awakened in the morning, he rolls a while in his bed, then gets up and searches for his charms, a forgotten bracelet, his pipe, his quiver, and so forth and so on, and it is nearly an hour before he is ready for work.[5] The other extreme in dress is reached by the Kanuris who estimate the wealth of a person by the quantity of his clothing. The principal dress of the men consists of cotton tobes or shirts, which are piled one upon another according to the financial standing of the wearer. In many cases men also wear cotton trousers. The upper class women wear long gowns which trail the ground, and they throw over their shoulders a scarf of showy calico, leaving one shoulder and breast uncovered.[6] The Jolof men and women wear a loin cloth, fastened around their waists by a sash, and a piece of drapery of blue cotton stuff over their shoulders. The women sometimes cover

[1] Featherman, p. 64.
[2] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 153.
[3] Featherman, p. 29.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[5] Vol. 1, p. 411.
[6] Featherman, p. 272.

their heads with picturesquely colored kerchiefs.[1] Both sexes wear leather sandals. The Fellatah women wear "a close shirt of white cotton, having short sleeves, which covers the body from neck to hips. Their ample drawers reach a little below the knee, and as ornamental finery they have a piece of red cloth patched to them behind at the lower edge. A large, flowing shirt-like robe, generally of white cotton cloth, but occasionally of blue baftus, constitutes their over dress, which descends below the knee and is decorated with embroidery at the breast and shoulders. Their legs are always bare, but their feet are protected by sandals or slippers. The head is covered by a cap of coarse red worsted or of blue or red cotton cloth, which is sometimes entwined in the fashion of a turban. . . . The women wrap around their waists a large piece of cotton drapery, which reaches to the ankles like a petticoat, but leaves the arms and upper part of the body entirely exposed. . . . They always go bareheaded as well as barefooted, but they nevertheless cover their heads with a veil when going abroad." [2]

Dancing and Drama.—Dancing does not seem to be quite so popular or universal in this zone, although among some tribes it is the favorite pastime,[3] and sometimes is an occasion of debauchery. The Jolofs have their regular moonlight dances, which are said to be "wild and lascivious," [4] and to last all night.[5] In some hamlets, instead of dancing every night, the people play games, sing, exchange visits and tell stories.[6] Social life begins to take on more refined forms. The transition from the dance to the drama in this zone is seen among the Shillooks, when, in one of their dances, they represent the attitude and movements of a warrior in the presence of the enemy.[7]

Music, Painting and Sculpture.—In the musical line this

[1] Featherman, p. 350.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 364.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 370, 371.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 356.
[5] Hovelacque, p. 27.
[6] Featherman, pp. 277, 356.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

zone offers nothing notably different from what is found in the other zones. The Fellatahs "have *griots* or professional bards among them, both of the male and female sex, who travel about the country like the minstrels of old, singing the praises of those who are sufficiently ambitious to purchase renown and immortality." The Kanuris also have professional story-tellers.[1]

Painting and sculpture are also about the same as in the other zones. A common amusement of the Dinka children is that of making clay images of goats and oxen.[2] Perhaps the carving in this zone is a little truer to life. For example, it is said that the Shillooks carve on their tobacco bowls very good imitations of the human face.[3] The imitation of nature is likely to be more perfect among any people where the religious feelings and the imagination are less overcome with fear.

[1] Featherman, p. 276. [2] Schweinfurth, Vol. 1, p. 166.
[3] Ratzel, Vol. 3, p. 39.

CHAPTER XXXIII

ÆSTHETIC LIFE IN THE CAMEL ZONE

Tattooing, Dress, Etc.—Coming finally to the people of the camel zone, it must suffice to say that too little is known of their æsthetic life to justify any detailed description. All that can be said is that some of the tribes tattoo,[1] some wear coral in their nostrils,[2] and some mutilate their teeth. The commonalty usually dress in sheepskins,[3] and the better class in cotton cloth. A red fez or turban is their head dress. They are fond of bracelets, armlets, rings and beads, as all other Negroes. They are not very musical, their instruments being limited to the drum and a rude bagpipe.[4] The severity of their struggle for existence indisposes them to frivolous amusements, and it is truly said that they take their pleasure sadly.[5] Furthermore, the scattered nature of the population has a tendency to suppress the showing-off instinct. Hence art is rudimentary and undeveloped.

General Considerations.—The nervous organization of man is such that certain excitations of his senses produce pleasure and others pain, and among the pleasurable sensations those which produce a very heightened sense of pleasure are characterized as beautiful. Therefore the sensations of beauty may be produced by means of sight, hearing, smell, taste or touch. Man has a natural craving for these sensations and cannot be satisfied without them. The appetite for food, the sexual passion and the appreciation of beauty in any kind of art arise from the excitation of

[1] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, pp. 256, 344; Denham's "Narrative," p. 30.
[2] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 255. [3] Denham, p. 243; Reclus, Vol. 2, pp. 424, 428.
[4] Featherman, pp. 752, 754. [5] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 238.

man's five senses and constitute the fundamental stimulations to all of his activities. Man's love for seeing and hearing pleasant things, like his love for smelling and tasting them, is a means of forcing him to exercise his mind and body. The mere love of beauty is therefore at the foundation of all progress. But love of beauty should not be confounded with man's love or appreciation of art, which is an entirely different matter. Art is the communication of ideas or feelings from one individual to another, employing beauty only as an instrument. This may be done by wearing a jewel or otherwise decorating the body, by dancing, acting, singing, playing on an instrument, painting or sculpturing, building a house, or by writing or telling a story. Everything that man expresses in the form of beauty is art, but it is to be observed that much that appeals to the sense of beauty is not communicated by man, but by Nature, in the form of grass, flowers, fruits, forests, landscapes, clouds, stars and sunsets. The appreciation of natural beauty is not the same thing as the appreciation of art. Natural beauty is always moral and ennobling, whereas art may be good or bad, moral or immoral, according to the character of the age or of the individual artist.

Art contributes in a manifold way to human progress. Even in its lowest form, which is mere sensuality, it helps to develop man's mind and body, and makes life a little more worth while. But its value may be stated in less general terms. For example, personal decorations of every kind cultivate a love of public esteem and tend to build up self-respect. This kind of art continues until other and more substantial means of gaining public favor come into vogue. The dance, in addition to developing physical beauty and grace, tends to make people more social and to awaken a variety of sentiments and emotions which promote the development and specialization of music, poetry and the drama. Music takes up the emotions which lan-

guage and the dance have in part developed and continues the work of refining them. Music is the language of emotion and arises from the imitation of the tones and feelings expressed in the cry of anguish, the shout of joy and the intonations of speech in ordinary conversation. The human voice is a compound of two elements: "The words, and the tones in which they are uttered—the signs of ideas and the signs of feelings." As man advances in culture his vocabulary increases so that he can convey more delicate shades of thought, and at the same time, the modulations or tones of his voice undergo refinement so as to convey more delicate shades of emotion.[1] Now, savage people everywhere have relatively simple and few ideas, words and feelings, and on that account, they can produce and appreciate only musical tones corresponding to their narrow range of emotions. They do not go beyond the simplest melody. Among civilized people music becomes more and more complex and more delicate in its combinations, corresponding to the ever increasing refinement of thought and emotion.

The drama portrays and enlarges the knowledge of human nature, and by representing real or fictitious tragical events, contributes to the development of the heroic, the romantic and the ideal. It serves to keep alive the national traditions and sentiments and thus acts as a sort of stepping-stone to the era of the written record, the library, the monument and the art gallery.

Art implies some degree of reflection. From time to time man thinks over his past, rehearses in his mind the events, scenes and experiences of the actual life, and he naturally has a longing to reawaken the emotions and sensations which the pleasures of the real world have afforded him. His effort to revive these feelings causes him to dance, sing, play on some instrument, paint or decorate.

[1] Spencer, "Progress: Its Law and Cause," Chapter 3.

As the feelings of man are of various kinds, high, low, good and bad, so the art which he creates is correspondingly varied. Whatever he feels is expressed in every phase of his art and on that account art is always a perfect echo of the real life and one of the most accurate means of determining the character of an individual, race or epoch.

Whether considering savage or civilized people it is important to know the relation of art to other phases of life. It occurs to the writer that the fundamental incentive to human activities is the desire for happiness. But experience teaches that this can be obtained in the highest degree only by postponing present for future gratifications, and by a rectitude of conduct which does not infringe upon the happiness of others and is in the interest of all. This principle of the greatest good to all is the final standard by which all valuations must be judged. To strive for this good is the highest human virtue. Broadly speaking, there are two means by which man seeks this ideal good. The first is by knowledge or science, which is necessary for determining the difference between bad or good actions. The second is beauty, both material and ideal, which man employs to create sympathy for right actions and aversion to wrong ones. By the first means man develops his understanding and by the second his feelings. In order for any race to reach a high standard of civilization its science and art must march *pari passu;* and it is just as necessary that art contain an ethical significance as that science contain the truth. Art therefore occupies a rank equal to that of science as a factor of human progress.

Among the Negro races science and art have little conscious development. The æsthetic life of the Negro exists in its lowest form, which is a love of beauty for its own sake. The love of beauty for the sentiment which is expressed with it in the form of art, has scarcely more than a crude manifestation anywhere among the natives of the Sudan.

Looking back over the several zones it seems that the form of art which appeals to the eye predominates in the lower zones, since the life of the people there is more exclusively confined to objective interests. Advancing northward, the arts which appeal to the ear and to the understanding, *i. e.*, music and folklore, acquire relatively greater importance, at least up to the camel zone, where the isolated life is blighting to all art. Waitz says that in love and talent for music, the Negroes are ahead of all other natural races,[1] but it is necessary to bear in mind that the music that they love and appreciate is of the most elementary kind corresponding to their deficient refinement of feelings.

In the plastic arts there is no effort on the part of the Negroes to go beyond an exact imitation of the thing represented. The higher form of art where the effort is not to portray the particular and concrete but the abstract and ideal, is attained only by the most civilized races.

The sense of beauty in respect to the general aspect of nature, which is the highest manifestation of purely æsthetic development, is rare among the inhabitants of the Sudan, for the reason that they grasp things too much in the concrete and are too unaccustomed to reflection, contemplation and observing things in combination. They can appreciate a beautiful flower, a shining bit of gold or a colored bead or other object, but they fail to appreciate a sunset, landscape or anything existing in combination and made up of harmony and proportion. They have no sense of the beauty of a thought, because when an image or idea is called up in their minds, it tends to produce some kind of physical activity, or it suddenly disappears in favor of the next comer. The idea or image is too fleeting to enable the mind to see it in all of its bearings and to pass judgment upon it.

None of the Negroes considered in this volume seem to have any sense of the sublime. In every such sensation

[1] Vol. 2, p. 236.

there must be a certain pleasurable admixture of fear, but if the ingredient of fear is too strong, the sense of the sublime gives way to a mere feeling of fright. It is only when man feels protected from the forces of nature or able to master them that he can take delight in their great, and sometimes awful, manifestations. On the same principle it is only the brave and disciplined soldier who can see sublimity in a great battle. As a rule, when a Negro contemplates the great forces of nature, the content of fear is too great to admit of any leaven of pleasure. His æsthetic life is therefore never manifested in that exalted form which is an admiration of nature akin to worship.

Any statement of the order in which the fine arts have developed is reserved for another volume.

CHAPTER XXXIV

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS IN THE BANANA ZONE

Relation of the Size of the Brain to its Activity.—In this zone there seems to be a correspondence between the shape and size of the brain and the quantity and character of the work imposed upon it. On account of the disproportionate activity of the brain, it is smaller in this zone than in any other.[1] Discussing the evolution of man, Darwin says that "as the various mental faculties gradually developed themselves, the brain would almost certainly become larger. No one, I presume, doubts that the large proportion which the size of man's brain bears to his body, compared to the same proportion in the gorilla or orang, is closely connected with his higher mental powers. . . . The belief that there exists some close relation between the size of the brain and the development of the intellectual faculties, is supported by the comparison of the skulls of savage and civilized races, of ancient and modern people, and by the analogy of the whole vertebrate series."[2] However, Darwin admits that "there

[1] Hovelacque, p. 241. A consideration worthy of note here is that while the Negroes having the smallest brain capacity are in the banana zone, those having the most negroid face-features and the least mixture of foreign blood are in the millet zone near Lake Chad. The smaller and more brachycephalic brain development in the banana zone may be due somewhat to a mixture with the more aboriginal Negritos, but the writer believes that the relative inactivity of the brain in that zone is the chief explanation of its dwarfed or shrunken dimensions. Hence, whatever may be the race its brain development will correspond to its intellectual activity, provided time is given; and while in respect to the brain the race may represent the lowest type of man, in respect to face-features or other morphological characteristics, a lower type may exist in another race or region where the conditions are more favorable to brain development.

[2] "Descent of Man," p. 69. Referring to the Negroes of America, Dr. Bean says, "The Negro brain is smaller than the Caucasian, the difference in the size being represented in both gray matter (nerve cells) and white matter (nerve fibres).

may be extraordinary mental activity with an extremely small absolute mass of nervous matter," and therefore it may be concluded in respect to any given race or epoch, as common observation teaches, that men of relatively small brains are often among the most intellectual individuals. This phenomenon is readily explained by the superior form and organization of the brain, and it suggests the second important fact to note in this connection, to wit, that the conformation of the brain in this zone is different from that of civilized people or of the Negroes in other districts of Africa. The Negro skull in the banana zone is characterized by a receding forehead, extraordinary prognathism and relatively large occipital development, which give it a long, narrow form resembling somewhat an egg with the sharper end foremost. The reason for this peculiar form is that the Negro's higher mental faculties have not been developed, and consequently the frontal region of his brain where those faculties reside, remains dwarfed or stunted. It is believed by the best and most modern psychologists and physiologists that the nerve centres that control the will, that restrain the passions and the reflex activities, and that organize thought and conduct, are located in the forepart of the head. "The Interior association," says Barker, "that is, the association centre of

. . . Brain cells are the basis of brain power or mental ability, and their number is known to remain constant throughout life, so that there seems never to be a degree of mental development beyond the possible expression of the brain cells inherited. Development of brain activity by experience, education, etc., is considered to be correlated with the development of sheaths around the nerve fibres as they become active in the transmission of impulses. The efficiency of the brain depends upon the number and position of such nerve fibres, just as the efficiency of a telephone system depends upon the number of its various connections and ramifications. The negro brain having fewer nerve cells and nerve fibres, assuming that gray matter and white matter respectively represent these numerically, the possibilities of developing the negro are therefore limited, except by the crossing of other races." "The Negro Brain," by Robert Bennett Bean, M. D., *Century Magazine*, September, 1906, p. 779. The only objection to the statement of Dr. Bean is that it does not allow for changes in the size and powers of the brain produced by functional activity.

the frontal lobes has manifold connections with the somæsthetic area and hence also with the motor regions concerned in conduct. So that here in all probability, Flechsig states, is to be sought the anatomical mechanism by means of which memory traces all bodily experiences, especially acts of the will are stored up. . . . Indeed, it is in the diseases affecting this area that most marked alterations in the character of the individual are met with. The phenomena of attention, of reflection and of inhibition, are possibly especially connected with this frontal association centre." [1] "In the front part of the brain," says Dr. Bean, "are located the motor area, part of the area for smell, and the great anterior association area. This association area is closely connected with the area that controls the muscles of the body, and contains definite bands of fibres to all other areas of the brain, and is connected with the lower centres of the nervous system. It represents the subjective faculties—the great reasoning centre, the centre of abstract thought. Lesions of the anterior association area are known to cause alteration or loss of ideas regarding personality, the subjective self; and a loss of self-consciousness, of the power of inhibition, of will power; a diminution in the capacity for ethical and æsthetic judgment." [2] As man's mental powers develop the frontal region of his brain becomes larger.[3] "Professor Broca found," says Darwin, "that the nineteenth century skulls from graves in Paris were larger than those from vaults of the twelfth century, in the proportion of 1484 to 1426, and that the increased size, as ascertained by measurements, was exclusively in the frontal part of the skull—the seat of the intellectual faculties." [4] On account of the early cessation of brain growth, the sutures of the Negro skull in

[1] "The Nervous System," New York, 1899, p. 1079.

[2] "The Negro Brain," by Robert Bennett Bean, M. D., *Century Magazine*, September, 1906, p. 784.

[3] Haeckel, Vol. 2, p. 226.

[4] "Descent of Man," p. 70.

this zone, as elsewhere, at least according to some authorities, close up earlier than those in the skull of the Caucasian.[1] Ellis states that "throughout West Africa it is by no means rare to find skulls without any apparent transverse or longitudinal sutures."[2] The relative largeness of the Negro brain in the posterior region is due to the fact tnat the sensory nerves have their centres chiefly in the parietal and occipital lobes, and that the passions and feelings of the Negro, having been subjected to little restraint, have given those regions of the brain a relatively extraordinary development.[3] . . . "In the hind part of the brain," says Dr. Bean, "are located the areas for sight, hearing, taste, and smell, and the body sense area that receives impressions from the whole surface of the body, from the muscles, and from the viscera. Besides this, in the midst of these areas, there is a large region called the posterior association area. The posterior association area is intimately connected with the special sense areas, just mentioned, and is considered to represent the objective faculties."[4] On account of the greater and more prolonged activity of the centres of sensation, it is thought by some authorities that the occipital sutures in the Negro skull close later than his frontal sutures. As to the convolutions of the Negro brain in this zone, it is probable, although no direct evidence bears upon the fact, that they differ from those of the Negro brain in the other zones, since it is generally believed that brain convolutions are less complex in the lower than in the higher types of men.[5] The growing complexity of the brain is in all probability, due to the increasing exercise

[1] Binger, Vol. 2, p. 246; Fritsch, p. 441; Hovelacque, p. 240.

[2] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 10.

[3] Osler, "Principles and Practice of Medicine," New York, p. 913; James "Psychology," New York, pp. 47, 53, 58, 60.

[4] "The Negro Brain," by Robert Bennett Bean, M. D., *Century Magazine*, September, 1906, p. 784.

[5] Foa, p. 102; Tylor, p. 60; Haeckel, Vol. 2, p. 227.

of the higher faculties, such as associative memory and constructive imagination. Finally it is to be remarked that the character of the blood possibly has something to do with the efficiency and growth of the brain, although this is a matter which still awaits scientific investigation. The blood of the Negro is known to be different from that of the Caucasian in that it coagulates more rapidly. This may be due to its peculiar chemical quality or to the climate.[1] The Negro brain develops more rapidly and matures earlier in this, than in any other, zone, and certainly earlier than the brain of the white man anywhere. This is in accordance with the general law that the simpler the organism the more rapidly it reaches its maximum of growth.[2] Hence the children of this zone, as of the lower races generally, are remarkably precocious and when taught in schools by the side of white children, often surpass them up to the age of puberty.[3] At this period, however, the Negro, accustomed from time immemorial to give complete reign to his sexual passions finds it difficult to keep up interest in lines of study which require the inhibition of other interests. Ellis remarks of the children of this zone that at the age of puberty "the physical nature masters the intellect and frequently deadens it."[4] However, Waitz thinks that this arrest of mental growth is due to the climate and not to race characteristic, since the same phenomenon is observed among the Nubians, Egyptians and Sandwich Islanders.[5] The reply to such argument is that the climate has produced the race characteristic.

Perceptive Power.—In perceptive power the Negroes of this zone show a certain preëminence. In keenness of observation and attention to details, they are, in common with

[1] Huxley, "Physiology," New York, 1892, p. 69; Binger, Vol. 1, p. 36.
[2] Spencer, "Principles of Sociology," Vol. 1, p. 101.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 10.
[5] Vol. 2, p. 235.

all of the lower races, superior to civilized people.[1] Their habit of life tends to make them close observers. Surrounded by all manner of dangers that are threatened both by nature and by their fellowmen, they are all eyes and ever on the alert. They grasp easily and quickly any concrete fact outwardly presented to their senses.

Conceptive Power.—On the other hand, in power of conception, *i. e.*, grasping things in the abstract, they are notably deficient. The subject-matter of their consciousness is made up of concrete memory impressions or momentary feelings excited by the external phenomena, and floating images such as one sees in dreams, reverie, delirium or insanity. They do not easily see things in combination or form ideas distinct from particular objects seen or things experienced. In their world everything is heterogeneous. All things seem lacking in any common element. The ability to generalize and see that things are related, have common elements, and are governed by rules or laws, is peculiar only to the highest civilized races, and has been a very slow evolutionary development. It seems probable that the first generalized notions in the child and in the race were derived from studying the actions of human beings, since one necessarily observes the peculiarities of his own species more closely than those of any other class of phenomena. The primitive man discovers that the members of his own species have like qualities and experiences, and hence the abstract conceptions which he first consciously recognizes and applies are in the nature of maxims and proverbs. For example, among the Dahomans are such proverbs as follows: "No one chases two birds," *i. e.*, one cannot do two things at once; "two men are not blockheads," *i. e.*, two heads are better than one; "the stick you have in your hand is the one with which you strike the snake," *i. e.*, make the best of your opportunities; "Cowries are men," *i. e.*, money

[1] Spencer, "Principles of Sociology," Vol. 1, p. 87.

makes the man; "One tree does not make a forest," *i. e.*, one swallow does not make a summer.[1] These proverbs collected by Ellis certainly contradict his statement that the people "constantly fail to grasp and generalize a notion."[2] The only conclusion that the facts seem to warrant in this matter is that outside the realm of human conduct, the generalizing power of the Negroes is weak and undeveloped.

Power of Attention.—In power of sustained attention, which corresponds to mental energy, the natives of this zone are manifestly imperfect. Ideas usurp their consciousness according to the stimulations of the moment. Their will power is not trained to reject irrelevant appeals to their attention. "The Negro," says Hovelacque, "is noted for a great inconsistency of mind. There is no regularity in its conduct. If he accomplishes a task one day in a certain fashion, the chances are that the next day he will perform the same task in a different manner. . . . The intellectual inferiority of the Negro in comparison with the European betrays itself above all in a great incapacity for sustained attention."[3] The difference between the mental energy of the Negro of this zone and that of the average European may be illustrated by comparing two steam engines, one being capable of a strain of only ten horse power, and the other of one hundred horse power. The smaller, less perfect and weaker brain of the Negro, not being accustomed to heavy pulling, suffers and frets under a burden which the stronger brain of the European would scarcely feel. The deficient power of attention of the Negro is due partly to the smallness of his brain resulting from its lack of exercise and possibly to the early closing of the sutures, partly to the enervating climate, which owing to the deficiency of oxygen, lowers the Negro's vital energy in the same way that the lack of fuel or water, diminishes the energy of an engine, and finally to the subordination of his

[1] Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples," pp. 259, 262. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 10. [3] P. 425, 427.

intellect to his passions, which after the age of puberty, monopolize his thought and impoverish his vitality. This tendency of the Negro to succumb to prolonged mental effort is a matter of frequent comment. Foa, who admits that the intellect of the Negro is in many respects equal to that of the white man says that "it does not follow from this that we place the black on the same level as the European in respect to mental energy and sense of order,—this complement—this motive power of the intelligence. There he is inferior to the white race: he is unable to struggle." Thrust him "among the thousands of obstacles that encumber those who have an elevated aim and who give their life in order to triumph in practical science, politics or social questions and he will founder, become discouraged and give up at the first check." [1]

The Negroes of this zone have not the same whips and spurs to their brains that the people have in more favored parts of the world. They have no serious problems to solve and no heavy brain work to undergo. Their minds are therefore in a state of spontaneous reverie.[2] As in the child, their attention is reflex and passive, and their train of thought is followed because it is interesting *per se.* The higher form of attention is what James calls derived attention, where the images or trains of thought "are interesting as a means to a remote end, or because they are associated with something that makes them dear." [3] In every man's life there are thousands of things, external and internal, daily and hourly soliciting and beckoning him to look thither. Whether he permits his mind to drift into reverie and like a butterfly flit from one object to another, or fixes it continuously upon one idea or one train of thought, depends upon the extent to which he is interested in one or more of the many concerns of life. A man's love for his family, desire to provide a home, educate his children and leave them a

[1] P. 116. [2] Bouche, p. 26. [3] "Psychology," Vol. 1, pp. 417, 418.

competence, or his general love of mankind, fondness for applause or mere intellectual curiosity, give him definite aspirations and a tendency to concentrate his attention upon some special line of work. His particular interest, whatever it may be, is his rudder and compass. If he is deeply interested in industrial lines, he will think long and often upon some kind of business; if he is interested deeply in the aspect of things he will direct his energies upon painting, sculpture, architecture and decorative art; if he is deeply interested in the play of social forces he will fix his mind upon history, the drama, novel or social science; or if deeply interested in the play of natural forces, he will work in the field of physics, chemistry, biology or other natural science. Hence in order to control his attention he must have certain preponderating motives or interests which he has consciously selected, through the exercise of his will and judgment, and which are strong enough to exclude all irrelevant appeals that may be made by the external or internal transient excitations. The people of the banana zone are absorbed mostly in things which have only a spasmodic allurement and which do not result from conscious selection and judgment based upon an intelligent weighing of the significance of those things for the individual and social welfare. Perhaps man found for the first time, in the hunting stage, an interest which gave fixity and duration to his attention and served as a lesson in disciplining his mind to choose among conflicting interests those which have a wide social significance, since hunting is more coöperative and social than living, as man in the first stage of evolution must have done, upon the spontaneous products of nature. The banana zone people seem to represent a transition from the first stage to that of the hunting stage. As man advances towards civilization, the increased knowledge and wider range of interests furnish more profound and lasting objects for the mind to act upon, and afford opportunity for more

intelligent judgment in selecting those objects. Sustained attention is easier, says James, "the richer in acquisitions and the fresher and more original the mind. . . . But an intellect unfurnished with materials, stagnant, unoriginal, will hardly be likely to consider any subject long." [1] The highest form of attention is that where a man has an all absorbing interest, a definite aim or ambition, which is large enough to engage all of the powers of his mind and strong enough to keep them to their purpose throughout life.[2] From the above considerations it is evident that the feeble power of attention of the Negro's mind is due to the absence, through countless generations, of any motive to stimulate it and give it tenacity, and the same considerations teach the important lesson that moral development must precede intellectual development.[3]

[1] "Psychology," Vol. 1, p. 423.

[2] It is not necessary that a man's attention be uninterrupted. In fact, the mind is all the better for being diverted, on the principle that a bow is the stronger for unbending. Furthermore a certain disposition of the attention to wander away from any particular subject under consideration, is often characteristic of the highest order of minds, because the attention is obliged to turn aside and run after ideas which the immediate subject awakens, or because of a deeper interest in some other subject which is in the line of one's life purpose. For example, a man may be listening to a conversation, lecture, sermon, or reading a book, and suddenly become unconscious of the words or letters striking his ear or eye. If this results from some new connection or idea which he instinctively considers worth following as bearing upon something in line with his predominant interest, it is indicative of a rich imagination, intricate power of associative memory, and subtle reasoning capacity. This represents the highest form of attention, and is not in any sense reverie or fugitive ideation. It indicates a mind of wide grasp, having the ability to absorb into the main subject, ideas which are scattered over a wide area, and which to ordinary minds, would have no connection. The essential thing is the predominant interest and the constant recurrence to it. School-teachers often mistake this superior type of mind for stupidity, incapacity for attention and idle reverie. Sustained attention requires effort, and each effort put forth gives it increased strength. Says James, "If we often flinch from making an effort, before we know it the effort making capacity will be gone: and if we suffer the wandering of our attention, presently it will wander all the time . . . keep the faculty of effort alive in you by a little gratuitous exercise every day."—"Psychology," Vol. 1, p. 126.

[3] It is true that an immoral or unsocial motive may give stimulus to a man's in-

Connection Between Mental and Physical Energy.—There is an intimate connection between mental and physical energy. Other things being equal, the man with the larger brain power can put forth more physical energy than the man of relatively small brain.[1] Therefore the lack of mental energy among the Negroes of this zone partly explains their lack of physical energy. Referring to the Fantis, Stanley says that they are the "most indolent, toil-hating tribe it has ever been my lot to see."[2] With one accord all authorities characterize the inhabitants of this zone as indolent to the last degree. But it is a mistake to suppose that the Negro is lazy in the sense of being slow of movement or averse to physical activity. On the contrary he is agile and dances with the greatest spirit and vigor. He is only lazy in the sense of being indisposed to do disagreeable or continuous labor, and this is due to lack of mental incentive. Every Negro tries to shift his burden upon the shoulders of another. Indeed there is nothing so characteristic of man everywhere or so difficult to eradicate from his nature, as this indisposition to do the work necessary for his own support. The survival of this trait is seen among civilized people in their mania for gambling, for lotteries and all manner of schemes for getting what another possesses without giving anything in return. Nothing delights man more than a wind-fall.

Memory.—In the matter of memory, the Negroes of this

tellectual faculties, but only the moral or social motives can furnish the depth, breadth and duration of interest which make for healthy mental growth. The immoral and unsocial motives are generally disorganizing and hurtful to the faculties by reason of unfavorable reactions. Therefore, intellectual progress is only compatible with moral progress. It is unquestionably true that a highly intellectual people may be also highly immoral, but it is only after they have once been moral and have begun to degenerate; and in proportion as morals decline the intellect will decline also.

[1] Spencer, "Principles of Sociology," Vol. I, p. 53.

[2] "Coomassie," p. 53.

zone seem to be exceptionally endowed.[1] "The Negro," says Hovelacque, "has ordinarily a prodigious memory, and that is again an infantile side of his natural dispositions."[2] However, the memory of the Negro differs from that of the civilized man in one important particular. What the Negro remembers is relatively simple and concrete, whereas what the civilized man remembers is involved and complex. When the latter recalls an idea, he usually drags along with it a host of other ideas. This is because he is so accustomed to combining ideas when they enter his brain that when he happens to recall them they have a tendency to awaken all other ideas with which they were originally associated, and even to recall ideas not previously associated. The brain of the civilized man is more complex, in that it has a more intricate system of transverse and radiating channels for the intercommunication of ideas.

Imagination is Reminiscent.—As in the case of the memory, the imagination of the Negro differs very much from that of the white man. Accustomed to close observation and to receiving mere impressions through the medium of the eye, the ideas in the mind of the Negro are more visualized. His mind is a picture gallery, reflecting and calling up images of the external phenomena. Indeed, so crowded is his mind with imagery, that all of his thoughts tend to express themselves in metaphor, and his language itself becomes poetic. Every manifestation of the natural world, such as rain, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, movement of stars or actions of animals or growth of plants, is personified. Every force in nature calls up in his mind the image of some person or animal that has been photographed upon his retina. This habit of seeing and interpreting things in terms of images, gives to the imagination constant exercise and consequently extraordinary development. Spencer asserts that the imagination of the savage is reminiscent while

[1] Waitz, Vol. 2, pp. 234. [2] P. 426.

that of the civilized man is constructive. This is no doubt true, but the fact must not be overlooked that the development of the reminiscent imagination is a necessary preparation for the constructive. The extraordinary development of the imagination of the primitive man has been a necessary and wise provision of nature, for without it the higher stages in the evolution of the mind would have been impossible. Indeed, it is now a serious question whether civilized people are not suffering from a decay of the reminiscent imagination, and consequently experiencing a decline in poetic capacity and power of idealizing. The statement of Macaulay that with the progress of civilization, the imagination, and with it poetry, tends necessarily to decline, is only true in so far as he had in mind the imagination of the reminiscent kind, *i. e.*, the power of calling up concrete images and using them for descriptive purposes.

Undeveloped Constructive Imagination.—But if the imagination of the primitive man is more apt in imagery, it is far behind that of the civilized man in handling ideas which are not mere direct reflections of sense impressions, in power of reconstruction and invention. The philosopher or scientist who formulates an hypothesis for the solution of a problem, must have an imagination as fertile as that of the poet, but of another sort. The African does not employ his imagination for scientific purposes because he has been accustomed to calling up in his mind only isolated, concrete pictures or ideas. He has not analyzed, classified and organized his store of facts, and hence in response to the call, few ideas come forth. Facts or ideas which might be of service to him lie in the detached cells and by-ways of the brain, because his reason has not analyzed their parts, and his imagination has not been accustomed to shuffling them and establishing connections between them. What we call originality is nothing but this power of the imagination of playing over a wide and intricate area of stored up facts,—of

rummaging the brain for what it wants,—of having the key to all of its store-rooms and secrets. Of course, the more knowledge a man possesses the greater opportunity the imagination will have to accomplish results. Constructive imagination is undoubtedly the highest intellectual faculty, and men differ more in respect to this than any other power of the mind. It is the distinctive mark of the genius, and has nothing in common with the obsessions of fools and madmen. Those scientists who hold that genius and insanity are twin brothers overlook the fact that the imagination of the genius is constructive, while that of the madman or crack-brain, like that of the savage, is reminiscent and reflex. A genius may become insane, but an insane man never becomes a genius. The insane and degenerate are capable only of obsessions.

Connection Between Imagination and Morals.—But the most important fact in this connection, is that no matter how gifted a man may be in imaginative faculty, he will be a total failure, so far as results are concerned, unless this faculty has something to stimulate it. Usually the imagination is aroused into activity by some shock, or deep impression upon the feelings. In the ordinary person, the passion of love or jealousy, a great sorrow, or an insult or rebuff, is sufficient to excite it to immediate and violent agitation. Ideas and images will then rise up in wild and distorted confusion, and a thousand of them will clamor for recognition at one time. A mind so inflamed will see, feel, think and do things which in the normal state would be impossible. But excitations of this kind are likely to be temporary, and do not suffice to stimulate the mind to continuous activity. The man who has some great purpose or predominant interest about which he feels deeply all the time, will have the greatest incentive to develop this faculty to its highest pitch. Therefore the more deeply one feels,—the more sensitive his nature,—the more constant his purposes

and interests, the more the imagination is likely to develop. Here again we observe the dependence of intellectual development upon moral development.

Imitation and Lack of Invention.—The deficient constructive power among the Africans of this zone, partly explains their great propensity to imitate, and lack of originality and inventive power. Ellis says that the Ewe people "can imitate but cannot invent or apply." [1] They have an antipathy to innovation and are slaves to habit and custom. For example, on one occasion when an European was building a house in Dahomi, he made some wheelbarrows and showed the Negroes how to use them to economize time and labor in bringing rock. When, after some absence, he returned to see how the work was progressing, he found the Negroes carrying the loaded wheelbarrows on their heads.[2] The natives of this zone have never dreamed of a cart, although they make long journeys to market with great loads on their backs and heads; and they have never dreamed of a crutch, although many cripples hobble about their villages. They have not even enough originality to change their styles of dress, but wear the same shapes and colors from century to century, except that the coast people, out of vanity, wear as decorations, the cast-off garments of Europeans. But another explanation of this lack of originality is found in the large conglomerate groups into which the population is divided. Originality bears a close relation to the density of population. Where large numbers of people live in one community, the crowd exercises a coercive influence upon the individual's dress, manners, thoughts, beliefs and morals, destroying his originality and making him a slave to convention. In a country where people live in small scattered groups, or isolate themselves as in the case of scientific specialists, by forming small circles within the crowd, the individual has less chance to imitate, and therefore more

[1] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 10.

[2] Duncan, Vol. 1, p. 24.

freely expresses his individuality, and more often innovates and invents. No people in the world, not excepting the Chinese, are so conglomerate and so little able to separate themselves from the crowd as the Negroes.

Deficient Reasoning Power.—That the inhabitants of this zone are deficient in reasoning power, is sufficiently attested by the absurd superstitions connected with their religion. And not only is their reason deficient in power, but differs from that of the white man in its operations. In the first place, when the Negro reasons, he employs almost altogether concrete images or facts which he has experienced, and which seem to him to have some similarity or applicability to the thing about which he is thinking. As in the operation of his imagination, the process is reproductive and not constructive. He seizes and uses things stored up in his mind just as they were at first seen or felt as wholes. He does not analyze the wholes and use the parts as links in his train of thought. This is the kind of reasoning also manifested by the lower animals. For example, the writer once saw a dog put out of the door of a hotel and left in the street. The ejected animal began to reason how he might get in again. He first attempted to push open the door, but failing in this, he ran around the house to see if he could enter through some other door. Failing in this also, he returned and jumped up high enough before the front door to be seen from the inside through the glass panel, but no one seeming to take notice of him, he then meditated a moment and seemed to light upon a new idea. He knew that people coming and going along the sidewalk frequently entered the door from which he was shut out. So he ran to meet every pedestrian who happened to be coming in either direction, following him to see if he would enter the office door. At last he joined a gentleman who happened to be heading for the hotel, and both entered together. Now observe, that all of the means of opening the door known to the dog were

merely those which he had learned by experience. He had, when the front door was not tightly closed, pushed it open; he had entered by means of other doors; he had been let in frequently in consequence of some one having seen him through the glass panel, and he had many times entered when the door was opened by a stranger. If he had remained outside till doomsday he could never have thought of anything not previously experienced,—could never have thought of a key or the turning of a knob. Another illustration of the inability of animals to reason outside of experience is found in the fact that, while monkeys will gather around a fire which hunters have left in the forest, all of the monkeys in the world could not muster wisdom enough to throw another stick upon the blaze,—simply because that is outside of their experience. A similar limitation of reasoning power is found among all of the lower human races, but nowhere to the extent as among the Negroes of this particular zone.

The Peculiarity of the Reasoning of the Civilized Man.—The reasoning of the civilized man goes beyond this. In the first place, he can think of things in other relations than those in which they were originally experienced. He can divide his experiences or knowledge into fractions and recombine the parts so as to discover the new and the novel. In the second place, the civilized man can reason not only by a different method from that of the savage, but he can select as the object of his reasoning, some fact, effect, or cause which neither he nor any one else has ever observed, felt or thought of before. The chemist searching for a new element or the physicist searching for a new force is an illustration. When Newton was seeking to discover why heavy objects fall to the ground, he employed the two processes of reasoning which are usually absent in the lower races. The idea that there might be some law or force explaining the fall of objects, was an entirely new objective point for in-

vestigation, something which could not be experienced, and which only a cultivated intellect could conceive of. And in his method of reasoning, he does not consider things as wholes or concretes just as he has experienced them, but takes the whole or concrete fact and analyzes it, splits it into parts and endeavors to see if there is not something in one of the parts which is common to other parts. In the case of the falling apple he sees that it is made up of many parts or elements and may be considered under many aspects. It has form, color, seed, core, flavor, juice, peeling, weight, etc., but all of these things he has previously known, and none of them suggests to him anything which is common to all other things and which might cause them to influence each other. Finally he attributes to the apple a new element, never before seen, experienced or dreamed of, to wit: attraction. This is the new means employed to reach the new end sought. He now supposes this new element to be common to all matter, verifies his supposition by experiment and thus discovers the law of gravity. The chief superiority of the reasoning of the cultured over the uncultured, is in greater power of singling out objects to be sought, in greater power of analyzing things and discovering the characteristics of their fragments, and greater power of seizing upon some analyzed part and calling up all of its connections to bear upon the subject under consideration.[1]

[1] The writer is here attempting to give in his own language the explanation of reasoning contained in James' "Psychology." In true reasoning to quote James' own better, but more technical language, an idea suggested by the facts " is apt to be a thing voluntarily sought, such as the means to a proposed end, the ground for an observed effect or the effect of an assumed cause. All these results may be thought of as concrete things, but they are not suggested immediately by the concrete things, as in the trains of simply associative thought. They are linked to the concretes which precede them by intermediate steps, and these steps are formed by *general characters* articulately denoted and expressly analyzed out. A thing inferred by reasoning need neither have been an habitual associate of the dictum from which we infer it, nor need it be similar to it. It may be a thing entirely unknown to our previous experience, something which no simple association of concretes would ever have

How Reason Begins.—The reason of man begins by a simple process of analogy. Any whole fact which resembles another or is in proximity to it, is supposed to act upon it as cause or effect. "Furnishing parallel cases," says James, "is the necessary first step towards abstracting the reason imbedded in them all." [1] The next step is where the wholes are analyzed and the connections, analogies or similarities are discovered which are common to the separate elements. After the mind begins to reason outside of experience, in the manner set forth by James, the further progress in reasoning depends upon the general stock of knowledge. In proportion as men analyze, classify and break up wholes into parts, the number of common or connecting elements is increased and therefore the materials for thoughts are multiplied and the possibility of discovering causes and effects is

evoked. The great difference, in fact, between that simpler kind of rational thinking which consists in the concrete objects of past experience merely suggesting each other and reasoning distinctively so called, is this, that whilst empirical thinking is only reproductive, reasoning is productive. . . . Let us make this ability to deal with novel data the technical differentia of reasoning. . . . It contains analysis and abstraction. Whereas the merely empirical thinker stares at a fact in its entirety and remains helpless or gets stuck, if it suggests no concomitant or similar, the reasoner breaks it up and notices some one of its separate attributes. This attribute he takes to be the essential part of the whole fact before him. This attribute has properties or consequences which the fact until then was not known to have, but which now that it is noticed to contain the attribute, it must have. . . . Reasoning may then be very well defined as the substitution of parts and their implications or consequences for wholes, and the act of the reasoner will consist of two stages. First sagacity, or the ability to discover what part M (essential essence) lies imbedded in the whole S which is before him; Second, learning, or the ability to recall promptly M's consequences, concomitants or implications. . . . The essence of a thing is that one of its properties which is so important for *my interests* that in comparison with it I may neglect the rest. . . . The first thing is to have seen that every possible case of reasoning involves the extraction of a particular partial aspect of the phenomena thought about and that whilst Empirical Thought simply associates phenomena in their entirety, Reasoned Thought couples them by the conscious use of this extract."—Vol. 2, pp. 329, 330, 331, 341. It is to be noted that James would not consider the act of the dog above referred to as reasoning. The ideation of an animal or man limited to experience he calls empirical thinking.

[1] Vol. 2, p. 364.

greatly enlarged. The use of the microscope and telescope, the furnace, dissolving acids, the dissecting knife and all analyzing processes, has, with each step, increased the materials for reasoning and at the same time the accuracy of the conclusions. From the foregoing considerations, it is very evident that the reasoning of the Negroes of this zone, represents a low stage of development and could be improved only by a slow evolutionary process such as the civilized races have gone through, and that it could never be much improved under any circumstances in the unfavorable environment of this zone.

Connection Between the Development of Reason and Morals.—But the most important fact to notice is that the amount of stored-up knowledge, and the quantity of things analyzed out and made available for reasoning, depend upon the motive or stimulation, without which no knowledge would be accumulated and no investigations attempted. In this respect the civilized man differs widely from the uncivilized, and still more widely from the lower animals. To a certain extent all animals are investigators, but they are guided mostly by their instincts, and have a very narrow range of interests. The dog analyzes with his nose and the eagle with his eye, but neither one has any interest except that connected with food or sexual pleasure. The savage has interests somewhat wider in range, in that he investigates a greater variety of phenomena. He has æsthetic appetites which are more intense and more varied than in the case of animals. He likes to see beautiful things, hear pleasing sounds, and to taste and smell agreeable things, but he is not interested in them unless they appeal directly to his senses, whereas, the civilized man takes delight in idealizing and reproducing his experiences in some form of art, as a poem, drama, etc.; and in addition to these things that appeal to his senses, he has an intellectual curiosity and interest in social life which furnish much subject-matter for

cogitation. Thus the civilized man adds to æsthetic stimulations those of the scientific, and therefore he has a thousand motives to excite inquiry where the savage has one, and having more motives to reason, he reasons more often and with an ever improving technique. James says that "a creature which has few instinctive impulses or interests, practical or æsthetic, will dissociate few characters, and will, at best, have limited reasoning powers: whilst one whose interests are very varied will reason much better.[1] Here again the intimate connection between mental and moral development comes to light, showing that reason develops in proportion as man feels deeply and extends his interests and sympathies to all phases of life. A man who has contracted or intermittent interests, is incapable of serial thought. He can trace nothing to the end or bottom, and his half reasoned conclusions give him an unbalanced judgment.

Lack of Foresight.—The Negroes of this zone have very little foresight, for the reason already indicated in the discussion of their economic life. Nature furnishes them with the necessaries of existence and they do not aspire for much in the way of luxuries on account of the enervating climate. The Negro, says Hovelacque, "is so sluggish that if he works it is only through constraint. He works not to amass a fortune, but to live. . . . He maintains a tranquillity unknown among most men. He never regrets the past which he pretends to have well spent, and he does not regard the future."[2] Foa, referring to this same characteristic, says that "The future has for him little importance. He does not think of it. In his old age when he has no more strength to work, he dies of hunger and misery, without succor or support. He has never helped his fellow men, and he knows that he has nothing to expect from any of them.[3] . . . The black works only from necessity and in order

[1] "Psychology," Vol. 2, p. 345. [2] P. 424. [3] *Ibid.*, 115.

to earn or obtain his nourishment. As soon as he has food for two days, he passes the time in his hut stretched out upon his mat, smoking, and half the time sleeping. . . . As a farmer, he works just long enough not to miss the season suitable for the harvest, and he gives to his land only the attention strictly indispensable. When he has sowed he does nothing more. He waits."[1] The natural indifference of the Negro to the future is no doubt enhanced by the unfavorable political conditions. "Where life is uncertain," says Ellis, "of what advantage is it to prepare for to-morrow? Where any improvement in condition is likely to arouse the cupidity of an irresponsible chief, why seek to improve it? Hence, we find a great indifference to the future."[2] The people of this zone seem to have no social consciousness, and never even think of directing their activities towards any definite goal.

Lack of Wit.—Wit is an intellectual manifestation unknown, and quite impossible, to the people of this zone. It is in its nature an essentially facetious play of ideas, exciting only the emotion of surprise, and can only be produced by a people who are accustomed to much reflection, analysis and shuffling of ideas. In the serious work of the intellect, in the searching out of the relations between ideas, there often come up in the mind associations of ideas which have an apparent but not a real connection. This faculty of seeing ideas in fictitious opposition does not exist in minds that are filled with images or mere impressions of the senses, but in minds that are skilled in the manipulation of abstract ideas, and accustomed to rapid work. To the savage mind any mental effort is usually painful. On the other hand, to the civilized mind, rich in ideas and accustomed to jostling them about, mental effort ceases to be painful and becomes easy and agreeable; thought takes a wide range, goes out of its beaten paths and discovers a variety of odd relations. Wit

[1] P. 114.

[2] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 11.

is therefore a result of surplus energy and is the sport of a mind that is athletic. The French are an example of a race that is highly intellectual and at the same time very witty.

Keen Sense of Humor.—In respect to humor, however, the people of this zone have an extraordinary development. A sense of humor does not depend upon a play of ideas, but may arise from any surprising incongruity perceived through the eye or other sense, and which does not excite along with surprise any serious emotion. For example, the sight of a man dressed in some outlandish costume, or meeting with some unexpected accident, as falling in a mud-hole, or doing any strange thing, as walking on all-fours,—is so palpably absurd that to appreciate it requires no mental effort or insight. As the perceptive powers of the Negro are very acute, he is particularly alert for all objective incongruities, and takes a keen delight in them. In this respect he is like a child. But there is a higher form of humor, which consists of seeing the incongruities of words or ideas, and which the Negro scarcely ever manifests, and which is found only among the highly enlightened races.

Nevertheless, the fact should not be overlooked that the simpler kind of humor trains the mind for the more elevated kind. Any humor at all is an aid to both mind and morals. A sense of what is incongruous in the aspect of things strengthens the perception of the incongruities in the essence of things, and helps to distinguish between right and wrong. Men of very intense moral nature, however, are often so absorbed in the moral incongruities that they become indifferent and almost insensible to any other kind. Also, absence of humor is often noticed in people who have a consuming malignant passion, but from neither of these causes is humor ever lacking in the people of this zone.

CHAPTER XXXV

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS IN THE BANANA ZONE (*Continued*)

Feelings Relatively Few, Insensitive and Simple.—Leaving now the subject of the intellectual capacity of the Negroes, and considering their sensitive nature, *i. e.*, their feelings and moral disposition, the fact first to be noticed is that their feelings are relatively few in number, insensitive and simple. Among the lower races of men as among animals, there are a number of very fundamental feelings which are necessary to the protection and propagation of the species. One of the most fundamental of these is the feeling of fear. This is instinctively felt in the presence of danger and is the first step in self-preservation. It is manifested by a paralytic shock, a suppression of movement, or disposition to crouch, withdraw or escape. Another feeling, hardly less important and derived from fear, is that of anger, which is characteristic of a higher stage in which an animal or man, instead of crouching or escaping, prepares to fight. It causes a rush of blood to the extremities in order to supply strength for sudden and extraordinary exertion. Other of the more fundamental feelings are those of sexual pleasure, of pleasure in companionship of one's kind, of pleasure in play, in adventure and in the satisfaction of one's æsthetic wants. In the civilized man, to these fundamental feelings, are added those connected with the acquisition of knowledge, with discoveries and inventions; feelings of racial and national pride, of consciousness of personal virtue, worth and achievements, and many others.

In the next place, the feelings of the lower races are

relatively obtuse. The sensitiveness of any one's feelings depends very much upon the complexity of his brain. In a highly organized brain, every sensation which reaches the consciousness, awakens in its track a multitude of other sensations, and all combine to intensify the impression. The biological law that the sensitiveness of impressions varies according to the degree of integration and differentiation of the nervous organism, is stated clearly by Ward who says that "the higher the organization the more intense the sensations, whether agreeable or disagreeable. This is because the more complicated the mechanism the more delicate it is, and the greater damage occasioned by an equal amount of violence. A high degree of sensibility is unnecessary to a low degree of organization, since the tenacity of life is inversely proportioned to the degree of organization. . . . Helix Veatchii which was observed to live six years without food, stands in no great need of a keen sense of hunger. The hydra lives as well after being turned wrong side out. Wheat-eels and tradigrades revive after twenty-eight days' desiccation by chloride of lime and sulphuric acid, in a vacuum, and exposed to a temperature of 120 Cent., while Octopus, the highest of mollusks, and lobsters, the highest of crustacians, replace their arms and legs when lost. Such creatures have moderate powers both of enjoyment and suffering, because high powers are not demanded by their physiological economy. As we rise in the scale, the same law holds throughout, that the degree of feeling increases with the degree of organization."[1] Referring to the Negroes of the banana zone, Sanderval says that they "are not much superior to animals in moral and physical sensations."[2] According to Foa, the calm and resignation which a Negro shows when captured are "in great part due to his lack of moral sensibility."[3] In another connec-

[1] "Dynamic Sociology," Vol. 2, p. 152.

[2] Quoted by Hovelacque, p. 324.

[3] P. 262.

tion, the same writer says that, as a rule, medicines have less effect per quantity upon the Negro than upon the Caucasian,[1] and that thirty-five or forty per cent. of alcohol is necessary to convince a Negro that he is not drinking water.[2]

The feelings of the Negro are not only relatively insensitive, but relatively simple and uninvolved. Take for example the feeling of love. In its lowest form it is only sexual animation and contents itself with specific satisfactions, while in its highest form, it involves a multitude of sensations other than those of a sexual nature.[3] The love which a highly moral man or woman feels in the married state is a combination of feelings, such as the pleasure of beauty, of affection, of admiration, respect, reverence, love of approbation, self-esteem, the pleasure of possession, of unrestricted freedom, of sympathy, etc. As Spencer says, there is no boundary line that may not be crossed by it.[4] Indeed, in many cases, especially among women, love is not primarily awakened by the sexual instinct at all, but by considerations of respect, love of admiration and sympathy; and unless it involves some of these complex feelings it is not likely to be more lasting than in the case of animals. In the insane, degenerate or erotic maniac these complex and elevated feelings are rarely experienced. Love in their eyes is merely animal passion.

It is often remarked that the Negroes are the happiest people in the world, but such a statement is far from the fact. They are more often tormented by fright, more often rent by the reaction of their violent and malignant passions than civilized people, and, having less sensitive and less complex feelings and fewer interests, they are incapable of realizing that heightened sense of pleasure which may be experienced by people of more cultivated mental and moral natures. As man ascends in the scale of being, his nervous

[1] P. 110. [2] P 106. [3] Ribot, pp. 253, 254.
[4] "Principles of Psychology," Vol. 1, p. 488.

organization becomes more refined and his susceptibility to happiness increases, but whether that possibility of greater happiness is realized or not depends of course upon the improvement of his morals.

Nevertheless Negroes, as other peoples, experience a predominance of pleasure over pain, and they are happy to the extent that their nature and circumstances permit. It is a mistake to suppose that savage people anywhere lead a miserable existence. They adapt themselves to their environment and find joy in it.

Feelings Overwhelm Reason and Will.—A striking fact about the people of this zone is that their feelings hold despotic sway over their reason, or to state it in more scientific terms, their sensori-motor actions predominate over their idio-motor actions. In the animal organism any excitation is transmitted to the brain by means of the afferent nerves, and is reflected back by means of the efferent nerves, causing a certain activity of some organ or muscle of the body. In the lower organisms this process takes place unconsciously, and may even take place in a dead animal before its body becomes cold. In some animals, as frogs, the activity in respect to food and sex may be excited after their heads are severed from their bodies, which shows that the actions are entirely reflex, the results of stimulations that reach only the ganglionic centres of the spinal column, and may be produced independently of the brain.[1] But in the more highly developed organisms there exists a more complicated system of nerves, having their centre in the brain, where actions are generated, not directly from external stimulations but from ideas, conscious judgment, choice or will. Actions originating in this way are known as idio-motor. They represent a later and higher development than the sensori-motor activities, and only in the highly disciplined human brain are the idio-motor activities able to obtain the mastery over

[1] James, Vol. 1, p. 17.

the others. In all of the lower races of men the idio-motor apparatus, being less used, is comparatively undeveloped and impotent.

Lack of Inhibition.—The Negroes of this zone have very little power of inhibition. Their wills are inundated and paralyzed by the surging of every passion and impulse towards immediate gratification. The riotous clamor of their passions explains their ungovernable temper, propensity to murder, steal, lie, deceive, or to overindulge their sexual appetite, their love for liquor, tobacco, or anything that may momentarily strike their fancy. It is this same lack of restraint among civilized people that fills their world with tragedy, strews the path of history with blood, makes necessary wars, armies, navies, police, jails, reformatories and penitentiaries, and fills to overflowing their insane asylums, hospitals and orphanages. As a consequence of the long thraldom of the Negroes to their passions, they have become afflicted with a kind of abulia, *i. e.*, a certain antipathy to whatever exacts resolution, constraint or mental effort. They have acquired a disposition to lean on others, or upon the powers of imaginary spirits, who relieve them of the painful task of thinking and deciding for themselves. Like the abulias among hysterics, they have a wonderful attachment for their doctor, helpful friend or other individual who may have strong will-power and decision of character.[1] They are therefore natural slaves in their mental constitution. While they do not volunteer to become slaves (no people do that) they seldom aspire to freedom. They not only submit tamely to their economic masters, but love them and are unhappy without them. No people in the world so devoutly worship a superior or have a greater contempt for an inferior. This characteristic would not be altogether unfortunate if the Negro masters were in any real sense superior to Negro slaves, for the attachment of the latter for the

[1] Janet, p. 151.

former, would have a tendency through imitation to lift the slaves to a higher level.

Temper Rollicking and Unstable.—The unrestrained condition of the Negro's passions renders his temper and disposition explosive, anarchic and incalculable. Stimulate his mind in any way and the response is usually instantaneous and unguarded, and gives to his character a naturalness, like that of a child, which is often very attractive.[1] He has no fixed standard of conduct, and no general rules that he is constantly afraid of violating as in the case of the civilized man. He is unencumbered and careless, and hence possesses, in contrast to the Mongolian, Indian or Caucasian, a rollicking disposition and demonstrative character. His joys throw him into outbursts of hilarity and his griefs call out the loudest lamentations. "The black," says Foa, "is excessively mournful. When he is sick or wounded he cannot bear physical pain. For nothing he complains, groans, calls for the fetichman and crams himself with native drugs."[2] On account of his chaotic temper, the Negro is often misunderstood and characterized by writers in the most contradictory language. At one moment, or for a considerable time, the Negro may be mild, docile, amiable, and hence will be so characterized. At another time he will be peevish, insolent, waspish and intractable, and accordingly will be supposed to possess permanently these qualities. At one time he will be faithful, at another treacherous, one time honest and again thievish. Hence some writers say that the Negro is as mild as a lamb, while others say that he is an ungovernable wild beast. The truth is that he is neither the one nor the other, but a compound of both, his behavior being determined by the circumstances of time and place. Under favorable circumstances, the Negro will be indefinitely

[1] This is generally true except among the Dahomans, where the political despotism causes the people to hesitate and exercise caution in their conversation and actions.

[2] P. 107.

mild, and under unfavorable conditions, will be as permanently the opposite. In districts where much war and despotism prevail, the temper of the Negro is irascible and high strung. Slave-traders, for instance, often commented upon the fact that Negroes from the regions of Dahomi and Ashanti were generally unmanageable and had to be shackled.[1] The general conditions of life in this zone more often excite the Negro to fits of anger and savage outbursts, while at intervals he is as mild as a lamb.

Sexual Impulses and Family Affection.—The Negro's extraordinary sexual propensity is perhaps the most conspicuous outcome of his general lack of inhibiting power. From the age of puberty both sexes indulge their passions almost without restraint. Girls are married as soon as they reach the age prescribed by nature, and the sexual passion takes such complete control of both sexes as to interfere seriously with any mental growth after that age. "At that period of life," says Bouche, "I have seen children lose sight of what they had already learned, so much were they absorbed in the progress of the sensitive life."[2] The habit of unrestrained indulgence through many centuries has made yielding an instinct. Continence is seldom practiced, and no habit of inhibition interposes itself to check the animal impulse. Facts illustrative of the familial relations of the people in this zone have been sufficiently stated already in connection with the discussion of the family and religion, and it must suffice here to recall to the reader's mind the substance of what has there been said. Any outward expression of affection between husband and wife is difficult to find, although wherever man and wife (or wives) live together in a well-defined family organization, it would be irrational to suppose that the union is not cemented with some genuine affection. However the absence of caressing or other expressions of love, the fact that marriage is always by capture or

[1] Romer, p. 185; Drake, p. 83.

[2] P. 21.

purchase, the ill-treatment of the wife, the frequent separations, the short mourning period and almost immediate remarriage after the death of either partner,—all indicate that the marriage bond is feeble, and rather animal than sentimental. A man's affection is generally stronger for his mother than for his wife, and next to his mother he likes best his sister. He argues that if he loses a wife he can get another, but that he can never get a second mother.[1] The indifference of the husband for his wife is shown in the fact that instead of supporting her he permits her to support him. He does not regard his wife as a companion, but lives apart from her and thinks it beneath his dignity even to eat with her. The affection of a mother for her children is just strong enough to carry them over the period of their helplessness. It scarcely ever goes beyond this. The father usually considers his children, or his wife's children, as blessings, but shows little interest in them during their infancy, and only in exceptional cases manifests fondness for them after they become adults. The great difference between civilized and savage parents in feeling for offspring, is that the former see in their children a value that is potential, resulting from the contemplation of what, it is hoped, they may one day become in the full bloom of their manhood and womanhood ; and the acute pain which the civilized parents feel over the death of a child is due to their faculty of seeing in it, not its real qualities, but those which the hopes and aspirations of the parents attribute to it. The savage parents on the contrary, not having much constructive imagination, generally see in their children only their real and present personalities.

Fellow Feeling.—As a rule the people of this zone do not seem to be very responsive to the distresses of their fellow men. Duncan says that they never attempt to render assistance if one of their number fall into the water. Though

[1] Kingsley, "West African Studies," p. 320.

they be near in canoes they hasten off. A native of Iddah fell overboard from the *Albert* into the Niger, and there were several natives alongside the ship in canoes "but not one of his hard-hearted countrymen put forth a helping hand or offered the least assistance."[1] Of the Niger people, Lander says that they never bestow a moment's reflection on public misery or individual distress or the calamities of their neighbors.[2] According to Hovelacque, a sick man must remain alone if he has no slaves to serve him or no money to procure them; and "this desertion by his parents and friends is not even regarded as a fault."[3] Says Foa, "if a man debased himself by going from house to house begging alms, he would infallibly die of hunger. No one would take pity on him for this sentiment is unknown among the blacks, and then they decline to give without an equal return." If a man, in case of illness, happen to be among distant relatives or strangers, he is simply put outside. He no longer works and no one owes him anything."[4] Speaking in general of the West Africans, Ratzel says that a person who has no relatives will seldom be supplied even with water in illness and when dead will be dragged out to be devoured by hyenas.[5] Among the Northern Ashantis, says Ellis, "servants or slaves who may fall sick are driven out into the bush to die or recover as best they may: and the infirm and helpless are invariably neglected, if not ill-treated. In the village Abankoro, the missionaries saw an orphan boy about five years old who went about unnoticed and reduced to a skeleton. . . . He cried for joy when food was given him and the kindness of the missionaries to the little sufferer astonished the people."[6] In this zone "the individual," says Miss Kingsley, "is supremely impor-

[1] Allen and Thomson, Vol. 1, p. 330.
[2] Vol. 2, p. 40.
[3] P. 440.
[4] P. 189.
[5] "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 324.
[6] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 174.

tant to himself and he values his friends and relatives and so on, but abstract affection for humanity at large or belief in the sanctity of the lives of the people with whom he is unrelated and unacquainted, the African barely possesses." [1] In this respect, however, the Negroes do not differ very much from some civilized people, for instance the Greeks who manifested very little love for strangers. Plato, we are told, placed outside of the law any one who left his country even for educational purposes.[2] Accustomed as the Negroes are to seeing their fellow men cut down in battle, devoured by wild beasts, put to death by the poison ordeals, offered as sacrifices to the gods, or otherwise meeting a horrible death, they necessarily become too familiar with such tragedies to be much moved by them.[3] Referring to the sacrifices among the Ashantis, Freeman says that the people became so familiar with these awful and bloody scenes that they thought as little of them, yea not so much, as they would of seeing a dead sheep, monkey or dog.[4] People, he says, were walking about smoking their pipes among putrefying bodies.[5] In war, the Negroes treat the vanquished with great cruelty. "Wounded prisoners," says Ellis, "are denied all assistance and all prisoners who are not destined to slavery are kept in a condition of semi-starvation that speedily reduces them to mere skeletons." [6]

Relish for Human Suffering.—Indeed it cannot be doubted that the people of this zone take real delight in human suffering. "The most revolting scenes of cruelty and bloodshed," says Ellis, "are regarded by the populace generally with positive pleasure and no sooner is the death-drum heard, than an excited mob, eager for the spectacle, rushes to the spot and imbitters the last moments of the victims with taunts and jeers." [7] . . . "The executioners to

[1] "West African Studies," p. 150. [2] Bouche, p. 399.
[3] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 17. [4] P. 29. [5] P. 54.
[6] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 191. [7] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 174.

pander to the tastes of the mob or to gratify their own lust for cruelty, practice the most shocking barbarities, blunting their knives to increase the suffering of their victims or cutting pieces of flesh from the neck before striking off the head. In fact, the most refined tortures that human ingenuity can devise are constantly inflicted, death is ever present, and human suffering and human life are alike disregarded." [1] Two Europeans who witnessed an execution in Ashanti reported that the "murderer with his hands bound behind him, a knife through his cheeks, and two forks piercing his back, was dragged by a rope past our rooms. . . . Commencing at midday, the punishment increased in intensity till eight o'clock, when the poor wretch was gashed all over, his arms cut off, and himself compelled to dance for the amusement of the king before being taken to the place of execution. If he could not or would not dance, lighted torches were applied to his wounds; to escape this excessive torture he made the greatest efforts to move, until the drum was beaten and the head cut off." [2] Sometimes "after slaughtering a victim they cut up and divide the body and each odumso (chief?) dances with the portion of the corpse that has fallen to his share." [3] The instinct to pursue, to torture and to kill, not being exercised upon animals as in the hunting life, is, in the banana zone, turned against man himself, and it survives even among civilized people, who being restrained from overt acts by cowardice or fear of the law, hack, stab and slash with their tongues and pens, or manifest their savage instinct by a fondness for reading or writing blood-curdling and incendiary literature. The instinct to save life and to relieve suffering has been a slow and imperfect evolutionary development. It arises from centuries of national life, during which the individual is, at first forced, and later trained and educated through

[1] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 174. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 264.

public sentiment, law, and religion, to the duty of fighting and making sacrifices in the interest of the general welfare. It depends largely upon the interdependence of the social and economic life, and it is an instinct that varies very much even among the most civilized people. While lack of fellow feeling is generally characteristic of the nations of this zone, there are some exceptions to the rule in individuals and tribes. It would be a horrible admission to make, if human beings anywhere were less sympathetic towards their kind than the lower animals. It is said even of ants that, in case the feelers of one of their comrades be cut off, they will anoint the wound with the mucus of their own mouths.[1] Occasionally travelers meet with people of this zone who seem to be exceedingly hospitable and sympathetic, although these qualities are often supposed to be only a part of their diplomacy when they expect to gain something. The slave-trader, Jos. Hawkins, says of the Ibo people that in friendship and benevolence, no people are so truly steadfast and that the unfortunate are sure of support.[2] But if as a rule the natives of this zone are indifferent to the misfortunes of their fellows, they are evidently fond of company and keep open house. It would be incomprehensible indeed in a country where nature is so lavish, if a certain generosity were not shown to strangers. "All travelers," says Hovelacque, "are agreed in regard to the great hospitality that the blacks show to each other."[3] If they do not trouble themselves to minister to the sick, they are at least glad to entertain the hale and hearty which involves no sacrifice.

Cruelty to Animals.—According to Duncan, the natives of this zone have no sympathy or feeling for the lower animals.[4] Lander says that dogs are always badly treated,[5] and Wood states that "there is hardly a village where the

[1] Letourneau, p. 153. [2] P. 105. [3] P. 439.
[4] Vol. 1, p. 40. [5] P. 349.

traveler does not come upon animals tied in some agonizing position and left to die." [1]

Altruism the Result of Constructive Activities.—It has required a long time for human sympathy to reach beyond the limits of one's family, tribe or nation, to say nothing of extending to the realm of dumb brutes. Altruism is the result of multifarious mutual help—of constructive activities, whereas it is always smothered by activities that are destructive. In this zone man is engaged in the destruction of animal life, of villages, of granaries, of homes and human lives. He is seeking to live at the expense of others rather than by helping others, and therefore his altruistic nature has no opportunity to develop.

[1] P. 601.

CHAPTER XXXVI

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS IN THE BANANA ZONE (*Continued*)

Propensity for Lying and Deception.—The Negroes of this zone are celebrated for lying and deception. According to Ellis "the Negro lies habitually and even in matters of little moment or of absolute indifference. It is rare for him to speak the truth."[1] Waitz says, with some justification, that this is due to distrust of the white man.[2] But other explanations are more to the point, of which one is that the Negro does not distinguish clearly between a fact of experience and an idea conceived in the mind. A similar confusion often arises in the minds of children among civilized people, causing them, at a certain age, to believe that something has really happened which they have only imagined. Another explanation is that lying is the result of traits developed in the hunting life. Deception is the essence of lying and is so necessary and habitual in hunting that it becomes an instinct. It is used by nearly all animals in attacking and defending, and is especially celebrated in the fox. "The cunning displayed by man," says Ward, "in outwitting and circumventing animals, is only a step higher than the ruse by which predatory animals deceive and catch their prey."[3] This deceptive quality of man is naturally carried over into his relations with his fellow men, and it is so strong that it survives even among civilized people. In fact it has been one of the chief methods used by man in all of his economic and political activities. The words by

[1] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 11. [2] Vol. 2, p. 257.
[3] "Pure Sociology," p. 486.

which successful business men are often characterized, indicate by their etymology that they originally implied deception, for example, such words as cunning, crafty, sharp, etc.[1] "Deception," says Ward, "may almost be called the foundation of business. . . . The form of deception used in warfare is called strategy and the kind that nations use is known as diplomacy. . . . Fashionable society consists wholly in sham, quackery reigns in the professions, and charlatanism in scientific bodies: falsehood permeates business, and as you look out a car window, the rocks and trees are placarded all over with lies."[2] But coming back to the banana zone, another explanation of the lying propensity of the Negroes is found in their unstable political conditions. In Dahomi and Ashanti, despotism and oppression weigh so heavily upon the people that they have acquired the habit of concealing their property, and pretending that they have nothing when they have plenty. They find it necessary to answer all questions with a certain caution, indirection and deception, for they live in the midst of spies and do not know at what moment their utterances may fall upon treacherous ears. Bouche tells us that "the black rarely attacks difficulties directly. He shifts and attains his objects by ruse and duplicity, permitting nothing to happen till sure of attaining his end."[3] "The Negro," says Foa, "is cunning and hypocritical because from his most tender age, he has been prevented from saying what he thinks. In the country in which he lives, it is never necessary to obey the impression of the moment: he lives under the shock of continual terror: he never knows whether he will see the sun rise the next day. . . . Each man has his enemy in this world and may be ruined by an imprudent word. Hence the habit of deceiving, acquired in infancy under the example of the parents, because it is the

[1] Ward, "Psychic Factors of Civilization," p. 164.

[2] "Pure Sociology," p. 488.

[3] P. 24.

custom and because he himself is deceived. . . . One reads between his words, with practice, as between the lines of a writing." [1] When a Negro comes into a store to buy a pipe, he will pretend to be after something else, and will seem to come accidentally upon the pipe. "He will talk a long time of unimportant things and if the conversation does not offer a proper turn to bring out accidentally his phrase, he will return rather than tell you why he had come. . . . If you discover it, he feebly denies with a smile which is an admission and which renders him more repugnant to you." [2] The testimony of Ellis in this matter is to the same effect. He says "concealment of design is the first element of safety, and as this axiom has been consistently carried out for generations, the national character is strongly marked by duplicity." [3]

Propensity for Stealing.—Another characteristic of the Negro is stealing, which is partly acquired from the habit of hunting and partly from living upon the spontaneous products of nature. In the banana zone pretty much everything belongs to nature, and the people are in the habit of taking, without hesitation, whatever they like. Fruits, plants and animals are all stolen, so to speak, from nature. Only where products are the result of human labor do the people have occasion to restrain their inclination to appropriate anything desired. Mungo Park asserts that the most notable defect of the Negro is "an insurmountable propensity to stealing." [4] The same statement is made by Duncan who says that "the most predominant passion of the African is theft." [5] On one occasion, out of charitable considerations, Duncan picked up a Negro who was in destitute circumstances, being without food or means of procuring any, but "in a short time he began to steal everything in reach." [6] "The black man steals," says Foa, "every time

[1] P. 112. [2] P. 113. [3] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 11.
[4] P. 127. [5] Vol. 1, p. 141. [6] Vol. 1, p. 200.

he can find a suitable occasion without the least scruple; what restrains him is not conscience but the fear of being caught." [1]

Vanity.—Vanity is another universal characteristic of the Negro. It is very close akin to lying, for the reason that, in most cases, it is prompted by a desire to deceive, to sail under false colors. But it differs from lying in that it often implies love of approbation. The Negro seeks to win the applause of his fellows usually by a gaudy exhibition of dress, trinkets or boastful language. The least word of praise or flattery gives him a lively sense of pleasure, and this soft spot in his character is one which the shrewd white man soon learns to take advantage of. He knows that a few words of flattery will cause a Negro to do a great deal more work and do it better than he could be persuaded to do by any other means. So keen is the Negro's vanity that if he happen to obtain any degree of superiority over his fellows, even in the matter of gaudy costume, he is inclined to be exceedingly arrogant. He struts and puts on airs. Bowen says that vanity is the Negro's second strongest passion, and that to dress and swagger are as natural to him as breathing.[2] Vanity, says Ellis, "is a common cause of debt and slavery, and the poor people frequently pawn or enslave themselves in order to obtain the means of making a respectable funeral." [3]

Lack of Courage.—Moral or physical courage is manifested only to a very slight degree in this zone. Under the spur of the moment, the men often act desperately, and in battle show a capacity for spirited attack.[4] But the general lassitude resulting from the humidity of the climate, and the lack of self-respect, render them as a rule indisposed to face dangers. Sir Garnet Wolsley once remarked that it was no wonder the king of Dahomi kept a corps of amazons,

[1] P. 247. [2] P. 91. [3] "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 241.
[4] Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 2, p. 344.

for the women were much less indolent and cowardly than the men.[1] The soldiers of Benin, says Featherman, "show very little discipline and still less courage."[2] The Negro, not being in the habit of reflecting and forecasting, does not realize what is at stake for himself or his fellows when confronted with danger. Habituated to act upon the spur of the moment, he naturally flees or succumbs whenever anything threatens his life or brings him face to face with a severe trial. And courage depends not only upon the ability to weigh what is at stake, but upon having something to stake. The civilized man is generally conscious that he has much to lose, since his life is more interwoven with that of society, and he has more contemporaneous and traditional ties. This ever present consciousness arms him for daring and dangerous deeds.

Lack of Revenge.—As a rule the Negroes of this zone are not at all revengeful. When anything provokes them to resentment, they are accustomed to act at once blindly and impetuously. They do not conceal their rancor and wait for a future time to square the account. A few hours or a few days are sufficient to obliterate any resentful impulse that they may have felt. Revenge requires mental effort, reflection and planning, and such exertions are not compatible with Negro indolence. The inertia of the blacks, says Bouche, will survive their passion and rancor.[3] In fact, one of the most remarkable peculiarities of the Negro is that he will submit to almost any amount of ill-treatment without murmur or retaliation. "The native indolence," says Bouche, "explains how he submits without reaction to the absolutism of the oligarchies or fetichmen, the despotism of kings, the exactions of the chiefs, the rigors of the master and even the horrible customs of human sacrifice."[4] A Dahoman proverb is very

[1] Brackenbury, p. 322.
[2] P. 228.
[3] P. 23.
[4] P. 24.

significant of this Negro characteristic. It says: "If any one stronger than you torments you, be satisfied to laugh."[1] Another explanation of this characteristic is found in the strong feeling of fear which the conditions of life impose upon the inhabitants of this zone. People who are much tormented with fears are never revengeful, for the reason, as previously pointed out, that fear is paralytic in its effect and indisposes an individual to aggression. It is only hunger, avarice or sexual passion that constrain a Negro to plot and attack. However, in certain localities of this zone, and under certain provocations the Negroes sometimes show a strong disposition to retaliate. The Dahomans are sometimes even characterized as revengeful,[2] and there are many instances of retaliatory acts towards slave-traders, and others who have committed acts of injustice against the natives. In such cases, though, the retaliation is usually swift and does not savor of real revenge.

Lack of Self-Respect.—The Negroes of this zone have a rather feeble sense of self-consciousness, and as a rule, very little self-respect. Whatever may be their social position, says Hovelacque, the African blacks are beggars of the first order, and the princes beg just the same as the lowest classes and not less boldly.[3]

Lack of Idealism.—Before concluding this chapter, it should be said that the Negroes of this zone have almost no capacity for setting up ideals. Although their minds are full of imagery, which is in itself a favorable and essential element in idealism, the imagery is almost altogether reminiscent and is not often combined with anything having moral significance or reference to the future. To visualize aspirations in respect to any kind of personal achievement or national destiny, belongs to the higher races, and even among them is characteristic of only a small class. Why is this so? How does idealism begin?

[1] Bouche, p. 249. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 20. [3] P. 435.

The probable answer to such questions is that it may arise from any privation voluntarily induced; from a vision, based upon a moral motive, of something desired but, for the present, unattainable; or from the suffering entailed by that healthy discontent which stimulates progress. The cravings or visions of an immoral man, for instance, a man involuntarily made to suffer for a crime, do not create ideals, which are in their nature permanent acquisitions of the mind, but only fancies which perish and are reborn with each gratification. Whenever any individual, through a yearning to elevate his own life or that of others, is constrained to exercise continence in respect to food, sex or anything else—whenever things longed for and dear to life are postponed or given up through altruistic and more ultimate considerations or, when rendered futile by adversity or even sometimes folly, then the suffering that follows excites the imagination and causes the sufferer to think of himself in a pitying mood, to dwell upon his privations, to rehearse his misfortunes and nurse his aspirations. He pictures to himself the realizations which he covets but must now forego, and the more continence that the situation requires the more vivid will be the imagery, and the more the imagery will crystallize into permanent and authoritative guides to conduct. In the meanwhile his pangs of contemplation begin to transform themselves into joy, because of the gradual discovery that his trials work out the final good of himself and race. He is like the wounded oyster, of which Emerson speaks, that mends its shell with pearl. In the light of this explanation it is not difficult to understand why it is that artists generally receive their inspirations from their poverty, or some reverse, or shock to their feelings, or from suffering sympathetically with others, and that great political revolutions or national catastrophes are often followed by an unusual development in art. It is the wine from the pressed grape. After idealism has once

been built up in a race and has produced a few great personalities, it is further developed, as pointed out by Ross, through the idealizing of the great personalities, *i. e.*, the objective models are reduced to a few abstract qualities or virtues.[1] Granting this to be the true origin of idealism, it is easy to comprehend why there is so little of it in the banana zone. As the people scarcely exercise continence in respect to anything whatever, but are accustomed to satisfying all of their passions and appetites without restraint, idealism has no reason for existing. The absence of this great faculty in any race is a deplorable fact for the reason that it is the only means by which it can learn to substitute moral restraint for coercive restraint, and to develop yearnings which raise its life to the plane of the heroic and romantic. The mere fact that a man abstains from certain forms of immorality is no evidence of moral progress if the restraint is due to the vigilance of the police, the strength of locks and keys and the unpleasant contemplation of yawning prisons. Restraint is only a virtue when it is done voluntarily and on account of attachment to some ideal standard. At best, any kind of restraint or inhibition that a man may exercise concerns only the negative side of his moral development while idealism has to do with the positive side. "Kindle the inner genial life in him," says Carlyle, "you have a flame that burns up all lower considerations."

Close akin to idealism are the faculties of faith, conviction and determination. Faith is the conscious trust in something that is not present or visible except to the mind. It may be felt in reference to the attributes of God or a person or in reference to some abstract truth to which one is attached. Faith in things leads to a conviction about them,—to a sure knowledge that the person or thing believed to have such and such quality has it in fact. Then

[1] "Social Control," pp. 227, 232.

conviction leads to determination, *i. e.*, to a fixed purpose to adhere to or be guided by the person or thing concerning whom or which one has faith and conviction, or to state it in other words, a conscious resolution to guide one's life by its ideals. Faith, conviction and determination are the dynamic forces behind all moral progress. Psychologists and theologians have made many attempts to point out some clear distinction between the mind of man and that of an animal, and they have generally fallen back on the worn out and untenable proposition that a man can reason and a beast cannot. The real distinction is that a man has conscious faith, conscious conviction and conscious determination. Animals have not these faculties and hence no moral consciousness. The lower races have these faculties only feebly developed and their moral consciousness is correspondingly weak.

The psychological powers of the Negroes of the banana zone have reached their present state of development as a result of the limited exercise which the conditions of life have prescribed for them, and they could be strengthened only by racial intermixture or a slow evolution, resulting from a constantly increasing functional activity.

CHAPTER XXXVII

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS IN THE MILLET ZONE

Better Developed Brain and More Intelligence Than in the Banana Zone.—The conditions of life in this zone demand more mental effort, and hence the brains of the people are somewhat larger and better developed.[1] Going west from the Slave Coast, Foa noticed that the heads of the natives became less dolichocephalic, and less receding.[2] Staudinger says that the foreheads of the Hausas are often pretty steep and high.[3] According to Featherman, the Mandingos have "a broad slanting forehead," [4] and Keane and Waitz say of the same people that they have a broader forehead than their neighbors.[5] The forehead of the Bambaras, says Featherman, "is prominent," and "their facial angle never measures less than seventy-four degrees." [6] The Bongos have a forehead that is "measurably broad" and "uncommonly prominent," but this is partly due to the practice of mothers in pressing downward the heads of their infants.[7]

The reader will understand of course that the meagreness of the data in reference to the sizes and forms of the Negro craniums in the several zones justifies only provisional conclusions.

Greater Power of Conception : More Mental and Physical Energy.—As the people are obliged to do more thinking in this zone, their mental activities are somewhat less dependent upon external excitations. They look more often inward and have more ability to grasp things in the abstract. This

[1] Hovelacque, p. 241 ; Deniker, pp. 446–450.
[2] P. 105. [3] P. 551. [4] P. 294.
[5] Keane, "Man : Past and Present," p. 45 ; Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 34.
[6] P. 331. [7] Featherman, p. 41 ; Reclus, Vol. 1, p. 110.

is shown in their larger stock of maxims and proverbs, better vocabulary, better system of counting, etc. Some of the proverbs, for example among the Yorubas, are as follows: "It is easy to cut to pieces a dead elephant," *i. e.*, deeds and not words count; "a hog that has wallowed in the mud seeks a clean person to rub against"; "a poor man has no relations"; "an old dog cannot be taught"; "he who claps hands for a fool to dance is no better than a fool"; "familiarity induces contempt but distance secures respect"; "anger draws arrows from the quiver, but good words draw cola-nuts from the bag," etc. The missionary Bowen found no trouble in translating any abstract English word into the Yoruba language. He found with ease corresponding words for sin, atonement, faith, pardon and justification.[1] The progress of the Nupes in mathematics is shown in the fact that they have words that express numbers up to a million.[2] The people generally in this zone are much more intelligent,[3] and have more mental energy, of which the numerous schools conducted by malams are an evidence.[4] They also have more physical energy. Ellis says that the Yorubas are more industrious than the Ewe people[5] and all explorers comment upon the thrift and enterprise of the Hausas. Nevertheless, in some localities of this zone, the people are exceedingly indolent, especially those living near the coast where the spontaneous products of nature are more abundant.

More Foresight.—Naturally more foresight is found among the people of this zone, for the reason that they have to provide for a winter season. A Bambara proverb says, "Conserve always a bunch of sorgho in thy granary."[6] But foresight is by no means a universal characteristic and many are the individuals that suffer from lack of it.

[1] P. 281. [2] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 248. [3] Staudinger, p. 551.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 562. [5] "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 32.
[6] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 194.

"Natives of the Gambia," says Moore, "never dream of storing provisions for the time of scarcity. They prefer to sell all that they do not immediately consume. When famine arrives, it is necessary to fast for two or three days at a time, and to compensate for lack of nourishment by smoking tobacco." [1] "Each year," says Bérenger-Férand, "the Sérères bring to the merchants ground-nuts, and sell all that they have for some trinkets. Four months after, when it is necessary to cultivate the land, they have sold even the last grain, and it is necessary for them to return to the European trader to buy seed at an enormous price. But the lesson avails nothing, and each year they act with the same improvidence." [2]

Feelings Master the Mind.—The passions and appetites of the people of this zone maintain the mastery over their intellectual faculties, but not to the same extent as among the people of the banana zone. In sexual practices the people are not so excessive, indecent or public, and have not so many priestesses and superstitions to foster public prostitution. The Hausas have a well developed sense of modesty, some appreciation of virtue and they never perform acts of necessity in public.[3] Nevertheless, the people of this zone have not built up their inhibiting power to any great extent. They are impulsive and, like others of their race, inclined to yield to the solicitations of the moment. In the matter of indulgence in liquor they are more temperate than the people of the lower zone, but still in some localities they are inclined to over-indulgence, and we are told that women are frequently so besotted that babies becomes intoxicated from their breasts.[4] In the matter of drink, however, the converts to Mohammedanism are generally exceptions, because that religion enjoins total abstinence. As in the banana zone, the people are strikingly

[1] Quoted by Hovelacque, p. 432.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Staudinger, p. 557.
[4] Binger, Vol. I, p. 338.

unstable and vacillating. At one moment they are mild and at another waspish, one moment full of energy and at another sluggish. Miss Kingsley observed this peculiarity when she said of a Kruboy, "he reminds me of that charming personality, the Irish peasant, for though he lacks the sparkle, he is full of humor and is the laziest and most industrious of mankind. He lies and tells the truth in such a hopelessly uncertain manner that you cannot rely on him for either. He is ungrateful and faithful to the death, honest and thievish, all in one and the same specimen of him." [1]

Family Affections.—Affection between members of the family is stronger in this zone as already indicated in the discussion of the family life, but the consideration of the husband for his wife and children is, in some instances, as conspicuously absent as in the banana zone. For example, it is said that the Baris sometimes ransom stolen cattle with their own wives and children.[2] As a rule, women perform most of the work of supporting the family, and live and eat apart from their husbands. In some districts consideration for old age is remarkably lacking. For example, among the Maghi, "if a person of old age dies, his death is deemed a cause of satisfaction and mirth, while that of a young one is lamented in tears." [3] A peculiarity of the Yorubas is that while they make loud lamentations over deceased relatives, they find it necessary to employ professional mourners to work up the bereaved to a frenzied grief.[4] However, this practice was common among the Hebrews, and is hardly worse than the French custom of placing artificial flowers upon the caskets and graves of their dead.

Fellow Feeling.—Generally fellow feeling is stronger in this zone, and cases are more often cited of disinterested kindness. The proverbs of the people reveal their more generous nature, for example, "From time to time give a

[1] "Travels in West Africa," p. 481. [2] Reclus, Vol. 1, p. 101.
[3] Barth, Vol. 2, p. 216. [4] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 157.

little of thy surplus to others";[1] "Not to aid one in trouble is to kill him in his heart"; "When you are not able to succor an unfortunate with your money, visit him; if you cannot visit him, send him words of consolation and encouragement."[2] "Never pass before people with a pot without stopping near them." But this last proverb, says Binger, is only put into practice by people who are carrying empty pots.[3] When Mungo Park passed through this zone and was out of resources, he met with much inhuman treatment, the natives often refusing him food and shelter. Once at a certain village during a rain, he remained under a tree until midnight when he was permitted to sleep on some wet grass in a poorly sheltered court.[4] But on the other hand, he met with some remarkable exhibitions of hospitality. At Kamalia, when he was without a horse or resources, a chief supported him and treated him with kindness seven months and then sent him to the coast accompanied by a caravan of slaves. While this favor was partly done through the hope of reward, it nevertheless indicates some degree of humanity.[5] When a citizen's house is destroyed by fire in this zone, the neighbors send what they can spare of their goods to assist the homeless unfortunates.[6] This is a sharp contrast to the practice in the banana zone. The higher moral development of the people in the millet zone is due in a great measure to their suffering and hardships, incident to their conditions of existence. To battle with the ups and downs of life is a good discipline for character building and perhaps it is fortunate that among civilized people the majority of men live under pressure and suffer privations. "Adversity," says Carlyle, "is sometimes hard upon a man, but for one who can stand prosperity there are a hundred that will stand adversity."

Some Feeling for Animals.—The people of this zone

[1] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 194. [2] Bouche, p. 74. [3] Vol. 1, p. 194.
[4] P. 110. [5] P. 120. [6] Clapperton, "Second Expedition," p. 185.

show more feeling for animals. This is because they use more domestic animals and find it to their interest to care for them. A Bambara proverb is significant of this solicitude. It says, "He who drinks out of the same calabash as his horse will have many horses."[1] In fact, the Bambara custom is not only to drink out of the same calabash, but to drink after the horse has had his fill. The caring for animals has everywhere a softening influence upon man's nature.

Courage and Revenge.—The people of this zone are decidedly braver than those of the banana zone, although they are less ferocious.[2] They have put more of their energy into the soil, made more sacrifices, paid higher prices for their wives, and they have accumulated more capital and possess larger stores of provisions. Therefore they have stronger motives to excite their pride and self-respect, and greater incentives to defend their possessions. Although they are sometimes described as persevering mendicants,[3] they usually show more independence of character and less servility than the people of the banana zone,[4] and while many individuals prefer slavery to freedom,[5] the people generally are more restless under slavery and more frequently run away from their masters. It is said that adult Krumen never resign themselves to become slaves.[6] The people of this zone are not conspicuously revengeful. The Yorubas, says Bowen, are not revengeful and unforgiving, but fight and forget like children.[7]

Lying and Stealing.—Throughout the millet region the traveler often meets with very honest people, especially among the women,[8] but as a rule, the people here as else-

[1] Binger, Vol. 1, p. 194.
[2] Reclus, Vol. 3, p. 291.
[3] *Journal of an African Cruiser*, p. 120.
[4] Ellis, "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 32.
[5] Staudinger, p. 570.
[6] Foa, p. 204.
[7] P. 285.
[8] Staudinger, pp. 554, 556.

where, have a propensity for lying and stealing.[1] "The truth," says Clapperton, referring to the Nyffees, "is not in them and to be detected in a lie is not the smallest disgrace: it only causes a laugh." [2]

[1] Staudinger, p. 552; Hovelacque, p. 436. [2] "Second Expedition," p. 18[illegible]

CHAPTER XXXVIII

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS IN THE CATTLE ZONE

Brain Development.—Corresponding to the more complex activities of this zone, the heads of the people are larger[1] and better formed, except perhaps in the case of the Dinkas, and a few other populations. The skulls of the Shillooks are "well developed."[2] "To judge by the shape of the skull," says Schweinfurth, "this people belongs to the less degraded races of Central Africa, which are distinguished from the Negro stocks by a smaller breadth of jaw and by a less decided narrowness of head."[3] The Kanuris have large heads and high foreheads.[4] The Latukas also have high foreheads.[5] The skulls of the Fellatahs are apparently not much larger than those of the Nigritians of this zone, but are better formed and not so thick.[6]

Power of Conception.—In power of conception and abstract thinking, the people of this zone are equal if not superior, to those of the millet zone. The Jolofs, says Featherman, "have produced a few men who are philosophers in their way, and have left behind them many moral maxims and proverbs that have been traditionally preserved, and are universally repeated in all their conversations, which are sprightly and somewhat spirited."[7]

[1] Hovelacque, p. 241; Featherman, p. 362.

[2] Featherman, p. 63. [3] Vol. 1, p. 88. [4] Featherman, p. 270.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 78. Hovelacque places the brain capacity of the Kanuris below that of the Calabars, but this is no doubt a mistake resulting from lack of examination of typical skulls.

[6] Deniker, p. 443; Staudinger, p. 543; Duncan, Vol. 2, p. 309.

[7] P. 355.

Mental Energy.—The people generally have more mental and physical energy than is found in the lower zones. As a rule the men do more work. Most of the Shillooks "are quite industrious in their habits."[1] The Fellatahs, Kanuris, Jolofs and Malinkops also are enterprising, as the state of their agriculture, manufacturing and trade abundantly shows. Nevertheless, many of the people are indolent, especially near the coast. For example, Hovelacque says "once their harvest is over, the Jolofs remain nine months stretched out, reposing and employing their time in conversation. Necessity alone constrains them to work."[2] But the pastoral life has a tendency to overcome indolence. It is a sort of industrial training school in that the adventures attendant upon the keeping of cattle are a substitute for hunting, and in that the indispensable ingenuity and vigilance accustom men to systematic labor and to the exercise of reason and foresight. Rohlfs says that the Kanuris are exceptions to the general rule of laziness among the Negroes.[3] The greater mental energy of the people is shown in their superior arts of government, laws, military equipment and in the more numerous schools where children are taught to read and write.[4] The city of Kouka has a famous school with about a thousand students.[5] In the Bondoo district schools are established in almost every town. Students from a distance are boarded and lodged by their teachers and pay their tuition and board by doing domestic and field work.[6] The schools are usually attached to a mosque and conducted by a *maraboo*, a sort of priest, or by a malam, a learned doctor. Even slaves, especially of rich people, are taught to read and write.[7]

Foresight.—The pastoral life everywhere demands considerable foresight, yet among the populations of this zone

[1] Featherman, p. 63. [2] P. 430. [3] Vol. 2, p. 8.
[4] Featherman, p. 277. [5] Rohlfs, Vol. 1, p. 342.
[6] Staudinger, p. 608; Featherman, p. 370. [7] Featherman, p. 386.

near the coast where fishing receives much attention, foresight is not at all a common characteristic. The Jolofs, says Hovelacque, frequently squander their earnings. "Then at the end of some days they appear sad and dressed in rags in the very streets where they have displayed so much arrogance. They no longer possess the least resources, and if the merchants do not consent to advance them a small sum upon the probable gains of the next trade, they are reduced to beg some sous." [1]

Feelings not so Supreme as in the Other Zones.—The people generally have more control over their feelings, and are not so liable to give way to every passion and appetite. They are more original and less slaves to custom. In this zone one meets with the first mention of a change of fashions. A trader, says Schweinfurth, sometimes becomes overstocked with beads for which there is no longer any demand.[2] The disposition of the people is not so rollicking but rather "sullen and stubborn," [3] and their temper is more steeled. This is shown even in their countenance which becomes more rigid and severe.

Familial Affection More Marked.—In family affection and in general development of the sympathetic nature the people show a decided advance over the inhabitants of the other zones. Women are generally treated with more consideration and are not so often overworked.[4] The care of cattle and the weaving of cloth are mostly the work of men. Of the Dinkas, Schweinfurth says, "Parents do not desert their children, nor are brothers faithless to brothers, but are ever prompt to render whatever aid is possible." [5] Eight days after the burial of a Jolof "a great dinner is prepared, which is sent to the schools of the *maraboos*, and is distributed to the poor that they may offer their prayers for the deceased. This act of charity is repeated on the anniversary day, and

[1] P. 431. [2] Vol. 1, p. 153. [3] Ogilby, p. 346.
[4] Featherman, p. 313. [5] Vol. 1, p. 169.

each evening during the current year the part of the food which would have been eaten by the deceased member of the family is either given to a poor man or to one of the slaves, who eats in the place of the dead person." [1] This shows undoubted altruism and is a marked improvement on anything to be observed in the other zones. The hospitality of the Malinkops " is most disinterested and most generous. When a stranger enters their hut at meal time and salutes the master of the house, he is immediately invited to sit down." [2] Among the Jolofs " the unfortunate, the helpless and the infirm are objects of commiseration ; they are received in every household with the greatest alacrity, and they are instantly provided with food, and even provided with clothing if their condition requires it." [3] The Dinkas, according to Schweinfurth, while cruel, often show tenderness and compassion. He mentions the case of a Bongo who was wounded in an attack upon the Dinkas and lay helpless near the Dinka's hut. The magnanimous Dinka gave shelter and food to the wounded Bongo until he was well and strong, and then sent an escort to lead him back to his own people. [4]

Pilfering Habit.—The pilfering habit of the people of this zone seems to be about on a level with that of the people of the other zones. At Loggun on the Shari, Denham says that nearly every one tried to steal something from him.[5] The Kanuris, he says, are much given to petty larceny.[6] Featherman states that the Dinkas " rob and plunder whenever an opportunity presents itself." [7] Indeed, pilfering is a common complaint which all travelers bring against the natives of this, as of every other zone, of Negro Africa.

Courage and Revenge.—Upon the average, the people of this zone are much more spirited and courageous than those of the other zones. For example, it is said that the

[1] Featherman, p. 350. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 311. [3] P. p. 349.
[4] Vol. 1, p. 169. [5] " Narrative," p. 182. [6] P. 241. [7] *Ibid.* 28.

Kanuris "fight bravely to maintain their independence,"[1] and that the Latukas are remarkably brave.[2] And since the indolence of the people does not overcome their resentment, they are "excessively revengeful."[3]

The Fellatahs differ very strikingly from the Nigritians in psychological characteristics. They are more ingenious and intelligent, have greater energy of mind, more will-power and a better balance between the reason and the passions. They are more courageous, more stable in purpose, more serious and less rollicking in disposition, more humane and generous, and more considerate of animals. Having passed from the coast to a Fellatah population, Lander remarked that the "loud laugh that speaks the vacant mind" we have not heard these many days.[4] They have more self-consciousness, a high degree of pride, often accompanied with insolence, and greater foresight and inhibiting power. But they are rapacious, revengeful and much given to robbery. The women are conspicuously more self-assertive and virtuous.[5]

Mental and Moral Superiority Due to More Favorable Conditions.—The mental and moral superiority of the people of this zone is accounted for partly by the more favorable climate, and partly by the environmental conditions of the pastoral mode of life; and within this zone, the superiority of the Fellatahs and Kanuris over the natives generally, is partly explained by the still more favorable climate and more complex and diversified nature of the environment in which these particular populations live.[6] The centres of the Fellatah populations are the Futa Jallon highlands in

[1] Featherman, p. 277. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 271; Denham's "Narrative," p. 241. [4] Vol. 1, p. 140.

[5] Staudinger, pp. 545–546, 560; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 298–299; Lasnet, pp. 48, 52, 70; Lander, Vol. 1, pp. 140, 151; Canot, p. 187; Duncan, Vol. 2, p. 311.

[6] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, pp. 197, 442, 443.

Senegambia, and the high plateau east of the Niger.[1] The territory of the Kanuris has a greater contrast of contour, of vegetable and animal life and of land and water than any other portion of the Sudan.[2]

Peculiarities of the Pastoral Nomads.—But it is a peculiarity of pastoral people that their manner of life does not permit them to originate culture. The most that they can do is to diffuse it. Only when they are forced to get out of the grass region and have lost their herds, do they take to a settled life and develop civilization. Nomadic people are generally invincible opponents of civilization, as for example, the steppe dwellers of China, of Mesopotamia and of Egypt.[3] In the Sudan, only the people who have abandoned the pastoral roving life, have made any substantial progress, and they are handicapped by the impoverishing tributes levied by the portion of the population which remains nomadic. The future development of Africa, says Ratzel, depends upon the emancipation of the agricultural people from the pastoral nomads.[4] Where the pastoral people give up the steppe and roving life, they are often, on account of their vigor of body and mind, the greatest promoters of civilization.

[1] Rohlfs, Vol. 2, p. 205.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 212.
[3] Ratzel, "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, pp. 159, 161, 447.
[4] "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 161.

CHAPTER XXXIX

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS IN THE CAMEL ZONE: AND GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS RESPECTING ALL ZONES

Traits of the Tibbus.—Coming now to the people of the desert, it seems that while the physical conditions are quite favorable to mental and moral development, the social conditions are unfavorable. The many obstacles which the people have to overcome develop a certain mental strength, but little refinement of feeling. A high degree of foresight is absolutely necessary, and also considerable power of inhibition, but the population is so scattered that social virtues or humanitarian sentiments have little chance to evolve. The solitariness of the groups and their struggle against each other rather favor a sort of coldness of heart. "As plundering is a professional pursuit," says Featherman, "stealing is not considered reproachful among them." [1] They are tyrannical masters and show great indifference to the suffering of their slaves. They start on expeditions without sufficient supplies and strew the desert with the skeletons of the starved.[2] They are harsh, greedy and suspicious. Their features are hard and their expressions cruel.[3] They have steel in their nature and know how to revenge. They have a serious cast of countenance and seldom laugh or unbend.

General Considerations—Mental and Moral Character of the Negro Varies in the Different Zones.—Stanford believes that the progress of the Hausas and Kanuris has been due

[1] P. 752. [2] Wood, p. 705.

[3] Reclus, Vol. 2, pp. 424–433; Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Vol. 3, pp. 263, 264.

entirely to outside influences, and that the "standard attainable by pure Negro communities left to themselves may be measured by the social usages prevalent amongst the people of Ashanti, Dahomi and the Oil Rivers, with their degraded fetichism, and now abolished sanguinary customs."[1] But Stanford overlooks the fact that the environment of the millet and cattle zones is very different from that of the banana zone, and that if no race mixture had taken place, the Negroes in the more favored zones would have made a decided advance over those near the coast. The literature bearing upon the Negro gives too much emphasis to foreign influences and not enough to local environments. It is quite evident that the Negroes near the Equator could never evolve a civilization, and equally evident that in the millet and cattle zones north of the Equator, the gross forms of superstition and sanguinary customs of the banana zone could never have existed. In all likelihood, the development of a civilization among the Negroes anywhere in Africa would be possible only after they had undergone such physical and mental transformation as to constitute practically a different race. But perhaps this transformation has already taken place and is now taking place as the Negroes move from one environment to another. At any rate, there are certain regions of Africa and certain modes of life which seem to change the Negroes into a race bearing a close resemblance to that which in ancient times occupied the borders of the Mediterranean Sea, and it is easily demonstrable that the Negroes of Africa differ widely according to the different environments in which they live.

Looking back over the four zones, it seems that, up to the camel zone, there is a gradual ascent of the mind from the lowest state found anywhere in the world, to that of a mind in many respects comparable to the best; from a state

[1] Vol. 1, p. 332.

in which reason is completely subordinated to the passions, to a state in which the inhibiting power of the will begins to gain the mastery over the passions. That the ascent of the mind is gradual from the savage to the civilized state, is attested by James, who says that "since nature never makes a jump, it is evident that we should find the lowest men occupying in this respect an intermediate position between the brutes and the highest men. And so we do. Beyond the analogies which their own minds suggest by breaking up the literal sequence of their experience, there is a world of analogies which they can appreciate when imparted to them by their betters, but which they could never excogitate alone. This answers the question why Darwin and Newton had to be waited for so long. The flash of similarity between an apple and the moon, between the rivalry for food in nature and the rivalry for man's selection, was too recondite to have occurred to any but exceptional minds." [1]

Inferring from the data bearing upon the economic and political life, the faculties of conception, reason, constructive imagination, foresight and wit improve gradually as one advances from the banana to the cattle zone; while the faculties of perception and memory appear to be the same in all of the zones, and the faculty of humor to decline as the other faculties expand. Inferring from the data bearing upon the family and social life, it seems that the feelings of the people become more varied, complex and sensitive, the inhibiting power stronger, the temper more steady and steeled, fellow feeling more marked, more self-respect, courage and idealism as one likewise advances from the banana to the cattle zone. But in propensity for lying and stealing any difference in the zones is hard to discover. The highest mental and moral development seems to be reached in the cattle zone, where the pastoral Fellatahs and Arabs come in

[1] "Psychology," Vol. 2, p. 360.

collision with the sedentary Nigritians,—a fact which brings to mind a fine phrase of Ratzel's that "There is a notable reciprocal relation between mighty forest vegetation and impotent men, and short grass and mighty men and States." [1] It is difficult and indeed impossible to decide how far the improvement, which is observed in the population in going from the south to the north, is due to physical conditions and how far to the influence of race mixture. The author inclines to the opinion that too much stress generally is laid upon race mixture and believes that modifications of races and peoples which are often attributed to intermixture are amply accounted for by the peculiarities of environment. The dryer climate and greater amount of sunshine, the greater multiformity of the phenomena, the more abundant, more regular and more concentrated food and greater variety of activities, go far to explain the superiority of the people of the northern zones.

Relation of Economic Progress to Moral Progress.—The highest development in strictly economic lines is in the millet zone, a fact which shows that economic progress and moral and mental progress are not inseparably connected. Mind and morals have their best field for growth, not in the realm of material things but in that of the social relations. When the social life of a people becomes complex and involved, it gives rise to law, statesmanship, diplomacy, art, philosophy and idealism, all of which afford more expansion to morals, and employ higher faculties than any kind of mere economic activity. Economic activity is a necessary foundation, but it is in itself not a guarantee of high development along other lines, but is often an obstacle to it. Indeed, it leads naturally to a corrupting materialism unless checked by a counteracting development in the domain of morals. The Hebrews, with the simplest economic development, gave the world its greatest moral precepts. Eco-

[1] "Anthropogeographie," Vol. 1, p. 447.

nomic enterprises usually look only to proximate ends, while the most distant ends come within the purview of the philosopher, moralist, patriot and prophet. Their vision overlooks all time and all humanity. "Your cotton-spinning and thrice-miraculous mechanism," says Carlyle, "what is this too, by itself, but a larger kind of Animalism? Spiders can spin, Beavers can build and show contrivance; the Ant lays up accumulation of capital, and has, for ought I know, a Bank of Antland. If there is no soul in man higher than all that, did it reach to sailing on cloud-rack and spinning sea-sand; then I say, man is but an animal, a more cunning kind of brute: he has no soul, but only a succedaneum for salt." It is to be remembered that Midas longed for gold and got a pair of ears. Herein sociology justifies the voices of all the ancient and modern seers and prophets, showing that economic prosperity is not a guarantee of intellectual or moral progress, but an ever present menace to either, unless kept in the subordinate rank to which it belongs. This is not to deny that economic activity, up to a certain point, may promote mind and morals. In the millet zone the people are interested mostly in material things, those of the cattle zone are somewhat more interested in education, morality, statecraft, and social and domestic felicity.

Effect Upon the Negro of European Civilization—Influence of the Slave-Traders.—From the day of the first visits of the white man in the Sudan to the present, there has been very little change in the intellectual characteristics of the natives, but a very decided change, in their moral characteristics. The earliest European traders along the African coast were slave-hunters, representing men of the lowest type. They robbed and cheated and violated the most solemn treaties. In both their commercial and private life they set bad examples. Mr. Town testified before a committee of the House of Commons that contact with the

European had improved the African in roguery.[1] The traders who located at and about the European settlements practiced polygamy in a worse form than the natives, sometimes keeping extensive harems of black wenches. They kept great supplies of rum and wines and for the most part were revelers and drunkards.[2] They even went about like the natives almost naked. It is related of Rev. John Newton, an English clergyman, but ex-slave trader, that when he was seventy-nine years old and was having his boots put on one morning by a servant, he remarked, "Sir, I had not this trouble in Africa, for I had no shoes. Sir, when I rose in the morning and shook myself like a dog I was dressed."[3] However low the morals of the African may have been originally they were made all the worse by contact with the slave traders.

Influence of Missionaries—Individual Examples of Uplift.—Since the abolition of the external slave trade it is difficult to say whether the influence of the white man's contact with the Negro has been beneficial or otherwise. On the one hand, the missionaries can undoubtedly point to some good results. They "point with pride to the story of strong and purified characters, such as the Rev. Thomas J. Marshall, of Porto Novo, who was born in one of the blackest spots in darkest Africa, became an honored minister of a native church and has been instrumental in leading a whole people into the knowledge and practice of Christianity. There is the Rev. Jacob B. Anaman, a native minister of the Gold Coast who has been made a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. There is Sir Samuel Lewis, Mayor of Freetown, a native of Sierra Leone, who in 1893 was appointed a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St.

[1] Abstract of Evidence before Select Committee of House of Commons, 1790–91, p. 18.

[2] Joe Hawkins, pp. 151–155–158.

[3] Williams, "Liverpool Privateers," London, 1897, p. 524.

George and whom the Queen of Great Britain has recently distinguished by the Order of Knighthood, who is the first pure Negro in West Africa—indeed in the world—on whom such honor has been conferred. He is a convert of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission and an exemplary follower of Christ. The story of Bishop Crowther has become a household word in mission annals. On February 11, 1897, at Cline Town, Sierra Leone, was laid the foundation stone of a memorial church which is to bear his name. The story of how the slave boy became the Bishop of the Niger is a romance of modern missions. Following in his footsteps we have at the present moment Bishop Phillips and Oluwole, two excellent and worthy natives connected with the Church Missionary Society." [1]

Now, of these remarkable and truly good men, two things are to be said: First, all of them whose photographs the writer has examined, show the physiognomy of mulattoes in whom Caucasian features are strongly marked. Second, all of them have had advantages which are impossible to any considerable number of native Africans. They have been raised in close personal touch with a few rare missionaries whose characters have been stamped upon their pupils, just as the good slave masters in America stamped their personalities upon their domestic servants; and some of these celebrated Africans have been educated in an European environment. If the missionary work in Africa were, upon the whole, a pronounced failure and if the natives as a whole were ever so conspicuously degenerating, there would still be plenty of individual examples of success of the kind just mentioned; and therefore they are not to be accepted as significant of the general result.

Impotence of Leaders Developed Artificially by a Race of a Different Stage of Culture.—It is highly questionable whether any race can be elevated through leaders developed

[1] Dennis, Vol. 2, p. 17.

artificially by means of education and training imparted by a race that belongs to a different stage of culture. Leaders so developed, not owing what they are to their own race, are prone to stand aloof from it and to excite its hostility.[1]

They are not in Sympathy with Their Own Race.—Instead of acquiring the missionary spirit, many of the converted natives, with their smattering of knowledge, consider themselves much above their fellows, become vain, pride-swollen and exhibit a contempt for the unconverted and uninitiated. For example, Keane says that the civilized Liberians have made no perceptible progress in extending the blessings of their civilization, but display "a supreme contempt for the stinking 'bush-niggers,' as they call the surrounding aborigines."[2]

"The most extraordinary thing," says Hazzledine, "is the way the natives of Africa treat each other. The Krumen treat the black deck passengers like a brutal railway porter will treat sheep. . . . One has only to watch the face of the superior educated native, who has learned to pray and to sit in a deck-chair, to see him draw the hem of his stinking old frock-coat away from the touch of the ignorant and comparatively naked laborer, who has as yet no soul above merriment, or to catch the sneer of supreme contempt on the face of his superior little kiddies, disgustingly genteel in their pink machine-sewn frocks—one has only to see this motley crowd to realize how much the actual presence of the white man is needed in Africa. It may be that the white races have preyed upon the black ones in the past, but never so much as the black races have preyed upon one another."[3]

They Leave the Masses Untouched.—When the civilized

[1] The reader should not confound the case of the Africans with that of the Japanese whose leaders have been developed in their native environment and through whose leaders the race has been able to assimilate Western culture.

[2] "Man: Past and Present," p. 53. [3] P. 128.

Negro is left to himself or returns to live in the midst of his kin, he generally reverts to his original state. "But," says Miss Kingsley, "I need hardly assure you it is not the invariable custom and there have been in the past and there are now living denizens of Europeanized Africans in West Africa, ministers, lawyers and doctors who would no more want to take off their store clothing and go cannibalizing and howling about the bush than you would. Nevertheless, the African who turns into a Europeanized man is the exception that proves the rule and whose isolated conduct misleads the white man, inducing him to go on on this old line, dazzled by the performance of one in a hundred thousand; we seem blind to the inertia of the great mass, that great mass that we have to deal with to-day in a state practically unaltered by the white work of four hundred years' duration."[1] Says Reinsch, "To take a Tagalog and make of him an American is the naïve impulse of inexperience. For though isolated individuals may adopt the best thought of a higher civilization, we need but think of the Negro valedictorians in our universities and of the men like Maharajah Dhuleep Singh—they cannot hold out against the social influences of their race, nor can they impart to it their acquired civilization."[2]

Effective Leaders Must Arise Spontaneously.—The only way that leaders can arise that will uplift the masses is by such elevation of the whole population that the exceptional few will spring spontaneously out of the general culture level. Then there will be a leadership that is in sympathy with and that arouses the enthusiasm of the masses.

Mistake of Missionaries in Attacking First the Psychological Life of the People, with Resulting Moral Degeneracy.—The missionaries make the mistake of beginning with the people's psychological life, seeking to overthrow all native

[1] Article "Life in West Africa," in *British Africa*, London, 1901, Vol. 2, p. 377.
[2] P. 26.

beliefs and substituting for them the teachings of the common school and university, and the abstract doctrines of a highly developed phase of Christianity. The weakness of this policy lies in the fact that the psychological life of a people is the flower of their moral life and develops out of their economic, familial and political traditions and institutions. A backward race cannot, with profit, assimilate the intellectual acquisitions of a higher race until it has undergone a preparatory evolution in its moral life and in its social and political institutions, and any attempt to force such assimilation must be either futile or demoralizing.

"Modern science is agreed," says Reinsch, "that inherited psychological elements—the constitution of the mind—are the most persistent phenomena of which we have any knowledge. New ideas may be poured into the consciousness, may even be understood by the rational faculties, but they will leave no trace upon the mental constitution and upon the real spring of action. The most conclusive proof of this is found in the psychology of those races which have come, through the chance of history, under the control of different conquerors. Through numberless generations under the most varied historical conditions and environments, the descendants of the race will continue to develop similar psychological traits. Thus parts of the Malay race have been for centuries under the rule of three different European peoples; nevertheless the Filipinos with their Spanish instruction, the Javans trained under the Dutch colonial system, and the Malays of the mainland who have been under English tutelage, all display identical characteristics and have the same intellectual constitution which the earliest explorers noted in their day. In the same way we may trace among the Negroes of the United States, of Hayti, and of Martinique, the same psychological tendencies which are found among their distant relatives in the African forests. The actual experience of colonizing

nations and the results of scientific investigation leave room for but one opinion upon the policy of assimilation, that it rests upon a purely ideological basis and runs counter to the scientific laws of psychic development.[1] . . . It has been abundantly experienced that when the ordinary members of a backward race are dissociated from the organism to which they belong and are brought into direct contact with a higher society, they will usually lose their native *morale* and adopt only the dangerous and even vicious sides of the advanced civilization." [2]

The one fact to be made clear in this connection is that the sudden unsettling of the psychological life of any people, before their economic familial and political institutions have been modified, is a dangerous performance which exactly reverses the natural process. In the history of the Hebrews the sudden changes wrought successively in the psychological life of the people by contact with Babylon and Assyria, brought about periods of moral degeneracy ; and history is full of examples of a similar kind.

In order to understand more specifically how this degeneracy is accomplished it is only necessary to observe the results of the sudden psychological overturning which has taken place in Africa.

Literary Education not Given in Its Proper Order of Time.—The educational policy of the missionaries has been exactly the reverse of that which conduces to intellectual and moral improvement. The same may be said of the educational policy of colonial governments in general where they have attempted to introduce a general system of education. The usual educational policy has for its first object to give the natives a literary education and to have them assimilate as rapidly as possible European ideas, especially those which cultivate a spirit of antagonism to native institutions and beliefs, and a contempt for native traditions.

[1] Pp. 20–22.

[2] P. 29.

The young African is led to "improve the perspiring hour" by learning the "height of Chimborazo, the cost of papering a room, leaving out the fireplace," and all the intricacies of Scotch theology.[1] "The instruction given by the missions," says Reinsch, "is generally too scholastic, and travelers are most severe in their judgment of the missionary-made man. Dressed in European clothes and displaying with pride a smattering of English education, the 'civilized' natives love to swagger about in the coast towns, despising manual work and the customs of their race. They have stripped off the restraints of their native religions and are far from having adopted the morals of Christianity."[2] . . . "In South Africa, in Central Africa and in Jamaica the Negro population has been very anxious to pursue literary studies, but by the testimony of all observers, the results have not been conducive to real social improvement."[3] The kind of instruction imparted "ordinarily leads to a dangerous half-education implying a well-trained memory but an undeveloped judgment, together with an overweening self-confidence and vanity."[4]

Religious Teachers Lay too Much Emphasis upon Creeds and Ceremonials.—The Christian religion, as interpreted to the Negroes, lays too much stress upon creeds and ceremonies and not enough upon character building. When the Negroes are induced to give up those practices which have had the sanction of their religion and conscience, they continue practices which have no sanction and they acquire new traits and habits which unsettle their moral life and standards. They easily get the idea that baptisms, sacraments, prayers, songs, church going and passive ac-

[1] Nevinson, "The Slavery of To-day," *Harper's Monthly*, August, 1905, p. 349.
[2] Pp. 51–52.
[3] P. 49.
[4] P. 50. "It is the unanimous testimony of observers in Jamaica," says Reinsch, "where a system of universal education has been established for some time, that the native population, originally not over fond of manual labor, is becoming entirely disinclined to work, and is longing for an easy life in town."—P. 50.

ceptance of some theological doctrine are the only essential elements in religion and they have a corresponding indifference to their every-day acts. Mr. Ellis who has lived many years among the Negroes and has studied their life more thoroughly than any other man, says, "The uneducated Negroes of our colonies, for instance, who have been nominally Christians for some three generations, practically believe that the commission of grave moral offenses and even crimes, will not in the least affect their prospects of future salvation provided they go to church or chapel regularly and, in fact, pay their god all that ceremonial homage and lip-service which is, in their view, the essence of religion." [1]

And Destroy Native Faith and Belief.—In the next place, the gospel as taught by missionaries, while failing to furnish a guide for conduct, undermines the native beliefs which do have some restraining influence. The Sudan Negroes are at that stage of development where fear is the chief element of religion and almost the only motive capable of controlling their conduct. The idea of a god of love and forgiveness of sins is foreign to African traditions and does not appeal to the Negroes as it does to people who stand at a higher level of culture.[2] A very peculiar and important trait of the Negroes, heretofore entirely overlooked, but repeatedly observed by Ellis, is that they do not concern themselves about any god that is exalted to a very great distance above them.[3] Among the Negroes of the Sudan the gods that are far off are not worshiped at all while those near at hand, and ever ready to inflict immediate punishment, command the most respect and obedience. The Christian God is represented as being too far away; and since the punishment which he inflicts will not be visited upon the Negroes until after their death, they do not think

[1] "Yoruba Speaking Peoples," p. 294.
[2] Ellis, "Tshi Speaking Peoples," p. 27.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

much of the consequences of their conduct. They have not the necessary foresight for such remote calculations. The native religion has the merit of furnishing deities that are believed in, understood and feared, and they act so powerfully upon the Negroes that they seldom violate their own moral code. Now, it is very evident that if faith in their native religion is destroyed and another religion substituted which they do not comprehend and which they interpret to be mere conformity to ceremony and routine, their moral character will not only fail to develop to a higher plane but sink to a much lower one. And that is precisely the result of much missionary preaching. "All the trouble that the missionaries give themselves," says Foa, "in performing their task of philanthropy, unfortunately has for result to make half educated hypocrites much more to be avoided than the ignorant Negro."[1] Mr. Harris who lived ten years at Sierra Leone said that all the Christianized Negroes that he employed were given to stealing; that there was no negro worse than a converted Negro and that the young blacks raised in the missions were simply the worst of all when they returned into the midst of the natives.[2] "A Sierra Leone native," says Brackenbury, "is great on going to church and has his mouth full of sacred quotations but he is generally as specious a knave as ever breathed."[3] In an European environment, says Foa, the bad characteristics of the blacks tend to disappear but "on the African coast, among themselves, the blacks use the knowledge given by the missionaries only to bring out their bad characteristics. With this limited education, the black becomes much more dangerous. He has preserved all of his bad qualities under an appearance of varnish which an elementary instruction gives him. He uses what he has learned in order to deceive better and lie better."[4] Staudinger observed that the edu-

[1] P. 118.
[2] Quoted by Hovelacque, p. 451.
[3] P. 326.
[4] P. 117.

cated natives are often the greatest thieves and cheats[1] and it has been long recognized that the interior Negroes farthest removed from European contact are the most industrious, friendly and hospitable.[2]

And Ignore Social Laws.—The bad effects of missionary work are not due to any deficiency in the Christian religion *per se* but to the manner in which it is interpreted and the blindness of the missionaries to the fact that the regeneration of a backward race necessitates a knowledge of social laws and an appreciation of the merits and deficiencies of the social stage to which the race belongs.

Error of Teaching False Social and Political Doctrines and Inspiring False Hopes.—A final and fatal error of the missionaries is in teaching false social and political doctrines and holding out false hopes. To teach the Negro that he is the equal of the white man is to teach what every man of science knows to be untrue, and to teach him that he has a natural right to all the privileges enjoyed by the white man is also to teach what is untrue, and more than that, such privileges have never been exercised by any Negro race in the presence of a white civilization. So long as the Negro blood has in it a reversional tendency which through inter-mixture with the white would lower the quality of the latter, there can be no law or obligation, divine or secular, that would justify an intermixture leading to that result. Therefore to the untruth of such teaching is added the baneful influence of inculcating a false hope : the result is that those Negroes who have been benefitted by contact with civilization are deprived of a wholesome attitude of obligation and gratitude to the white race for having lifted them out of the depths of savagery, and are made to hate the white man for denying him what the missionary has promised. The ridiculous pretensions and demands of the masses excite the counter-antagonism of the white man and precipitate a racial con-

[1] P. 5.

[2] Waitz, Vol. 2, p. 80.

flict, which builds up psychological characteristics in the Negro that only militate against his survival in the struggle for existence.

Mistakes in Polonial Policies. (*a*) *Ruthless Destruction of Native Institutions.*—So far as governmental policies are concerned the mistakes are manifold. In districts where the white men constitute only a fraction of the population it is unwise to root out native institutions and substitute those of civilized Europe. Each European nation seems to be ambitious for the people of its African colonies to assimilate the language, education, customs and political frame-work of the home country.

Now it may be laid down as a sociological law that the institutions of any race are bound up organically and inseparably with its psychological characteristics, *i. e.*, its traditions, beliefs and moral and religious standards; and that any sudden overthrow of its institutions brings about at the same time a dissolution of its moral foundation. This is even true of the most highly civilized races, as for example, the moral disintegration following the French Revolution. Therefore, however desirable it may be, from a theoretical point of view, to modify native institutions, only evil can result unless the modification is accomplished through a gradual evolutionary process. "Experience seems to show," says Reinsch, "that even those institutions which are by us considered the very foundation of good government may have harmful results when introduced into another society."[1] "The most striking example of this," he adds, "is found in the experience of Great Britain in India. The English are not an assimilating race. They have always had clearly in mind the economic purposes of expansion, and have allowed the political missionary spirit comparatively little sway. They have not been filled with the desire of transforming native societies. Still they have

[1] P. 15.

introduced certain institutional reforms, which to them seemed absolutely essential and not attended with any risk. Thus, who would not agree that the impartial enforcement of contracts, the system of judicial appeals, representative government, the institution of the jury system, a free press, and liberal education are things about the usefulness of which among us there can be no two opinions? The British introduced these institutions into India, with the best of intentions, and yet with such results that their opponents can now plausibly argue that they must have been animated with the sinister purpose of disrupting and undermining Indian society. The most unforeseen consequences have resulted. Through the rigid enforcement of contract the vast agricultural debtor class has been gradually enslaved to the money lenders and is being ousted from its ancestral holdings. As the government upholds the principle of freedom of contract and will not fix the price of grain in times of shortage, the calculating native capitalist is enabled to hold his stock of food for higher prices regardless of the fact that people may be dying of famine by the thousand in the neighborhood. The scientific system of appeals favors the machinations of unscrupulous native pleaders, who gain a livelihood by stirring up litigation and making the most of judicial delays, with the result that the confidence of the Indian population in the justice and efficiency of the law has been impaired. The granting of representative government in municipalities has led to the sharp accentuation of religious and racial animosities and has especially increased the bitter feeling between Mohammedans and Hindus, the former of whom oppose strongly any system of representation based upon numbers. The same result has been brought about by the creation of a free press, which uses its freedom not only for the purpose of constant agitation against the British, but also to stir up and perpetuate the feeling of mutual hatred between the

various great religions of India. The jury system has undermined the confidence of the natives in the justice of the British, because no white jury can be found to condemn a white man for the murder of a native." [1] European individualistic institutions are suited neither to the African climate nor people and any attempt to introduce them except by a very gradual process can have only evil consequences.

In districts where the white population is considerable the introduction of European laws and institutions is inevitable, but fortunately by the time that the white population reaches to any considerable number, the natives will have had time to undergo a preparatory training. In the Sudan, however, the white population nowhere amounts to more than an insignificant fraction of the total, and the natives are therefore least prepared to adjust themselves to a civilized régime.

(*b*) *The African Cannot be Advanced Along the Lines of European Culture.*—The Sudan Negroes need to undergo a transition stage before they can come in contact with Western ideas, institutions and modes of life without ruinous consequences. Hovelacque says wisely that "what one can assure from acquired experience is that to pretend to impose upon a black people the European civilization is a pure aberration. A black said one day to some white travellers that the white civilization was good for the whites but bad for the blacks. No utterance was ever more sensible." [2] Ellis says of the Negro that "any endeavor to force upon him our artificial conditions of existence must fail, for racial character cannot be suddenly transformed; and even if it were possible to impose our civilization upon him it would not be lasting, for the various transitional stages between his position and ours would have been wanting." [3]

[1] Pp. 15–17. [2] P. 459. [3] "Ewe Speaking Peoples," p. 12.

Colonial policies are not primarily conceived or applied in the interest of the natives but in the interest of European exploiters, and indeed, as pointed out by Reinsch, the spirit of our age is not in general directed to the organization and development of the psychic life of mankind but to "the mastery over the forces of nature."[1] So far as Africa is concerned the policy is that of an "exhaustive barbarian exploitation."[2] It is no wonder then that the results of European contact in some localities have been injurious rather than beneficial to the natives.

(*c*) *Both Sociological and Anatomical Obstacles.*—The reader will observe that the obstacles to infusing European civilization into the Negro, as thus far pointed out, arise from the peculiarities of his psychology, and acquired characteristics as outwardly manifested. It now remains to explain that the unfavorable way in which he responds to civilization is due to a cause that is organic or anatomical. His brain is so constituted that its sensori-motor activities predominate over his idio-motor activities, *i. e.*, his passions and natural impulses are exceptionally potent and his inhibiting power exceptionally feeble. Therefore contact with civilization multiplies the excitations of his passions and appetites by reason of offering a greater range and quantity of objects of desire; and to restrain himself from gratifying his intensified cravings calls for an inhibiting power beyond the strength of his present faculties. The abolition of polygamy does not, in the least, remove his sexual incontinence, but only makes it more capricious. He covets a thousand new objects introduced by civilization and has an irresistible impulse to steal what he cannot buy. Therefore it is evident that the mental constitution of the Negro is adapted only to a particular climate and stage of culture and any improvement in his psychic nature can be effected only by very slow and easy transitions. It is necessary to bear in

[1] Reinsch, p. 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

mind, however, that the anatomical obstacle is not the same in all of the zones.

(*d*) *Testimony of Sir Samuel Baker Respecting the Influence of the Negro's Contact With Civilization.*—In further support of all that has been said of the influence of civilization upon the Sudan Negro, the writer wishes to add the testimony of Sir Samuel Baker and Miss Mary Kingsley, both of whom studied the Negro in his native surroundings. "The black man," says Baker, "is a curious anomaly, the good and bad points of human nature bursting forth without any arrangement, like the flowers and thorns of his own wilderness. A creature of impulse, seldom actuated by reflection, the black man astounds by his complete obtuseness, and as suddenly confounds you by an unexpected exhibition of sympathy. From long experience with African savages, I think it is absurd to condemn the negro *in toto*, as it is preposterous to compare his intellectual capacity with that of the white man. It is unfortunately the fashion for one party to uphold the Negro as a superior being, while the other denies him the common powers of reason. So great a difference of opinion has ever existed upon the intrinsic value of the Negro, that the very perplexity of the question is a proof that he is altogether a distinct variety. So long as it is generally considered that the Negro and the white man are to be governed by the same laws and guided by the same management, so long will the former remain a thorn in the side of every community to which he may unhappily belong. When the horse and the ass shall be found to match in double harness, the white man and the African black will pull together under the same régime. It is the grand error of equalizing that which is unequal, that has lowered the Negro character, and made the black man a reproach. . . .

"In the great system of creation that divided races and subdivided them according to mysterious laws apportioning

special qualities to each, the varieties of the human race exhibit certain characters and qualifications which adapt them for specific localities. . . .

"The history of the Negro has proved the correctness of this theory. In no instance has he evinced other than a retrogression when once freed from restraint. Like a horse without harness, he runs wild, but, if harnessed, no animal is more useful. Unfortunately this is contrary to public opinion in England, where the *vox populi* assumes the right of dictation upon matters and men in which it has had no experience. The English insist upon their own weights and measures as the scales for human excellence, and it has been directed by the multitude, inexperienced in the Negro personally, that he has been a badly treated brother; that he is a worthy member of the human family, placed in an inferior position through the prejudice and ignorance of the white man, with whom he should be upon equality.

"The Negro has been, and still is, thoroughly misunderstood. However severely we may condemn the horrible system of slavery, the results of emancipation have proved that the Negro does not appreciate the blessings of freedom, nor does he show the slightest feeling of gratitude to the hand that broke the rivets of his fetters. His narrow mind cannot embrace that feeling of pure philanthropy that first prompted England to declare herself against slavery and he only regards the anti-slavery movement as a proof of his own importance. In his limited horizon he is himself the important object, and as a sequel to his self-conceit, he imagines that the whole world is at issue concerning the black man. The Negro, therefore, being the important question, must be an important person, and he conducts himself accordingly—he is far too great a man to work. Upon this point his natural character exhibits itself most determinately. Accordingly, he resists any attempt at coercion; being free, his first impulse is to claim an

equality with those whom he lately served, and to usurp a dignity with absurd pretensions, that must inevitably insure the disgust of the white community. Ill will, thus engendered, a hatred and jealousy is established between the two races, combined with the errors that in such conditions must arise upon both sides. The final question remains, Why was the Negro first introduced into our colonies—and to America?

"The *sun* is the great arbitrator between the white and the black man. There are productions necessary to civilized countries, that can alone be cultivated in tropical climates where the white man cannot live if exposed to labor in the sun. Thus, such fertile countries as the West Indies and portions of America being without a native population, the Negro was originally imported as a slave to fulfil the conditions of a laborer. In his own country he was a wild savage, and enslaved his brother man; he thus became a victim to his own system; to the institution of slavery that is indigenous to the soil of Africa, and that has *not been taught to the African* by the white man, as is currently reported, but that has ever been the peculiar characteristic of African tribes. In his state of slavery the Negro was compelled to work, and, through his labor, every country prospered where he had been introduced. He was suddenly freed, and from that moment he refused to work, and instead of being a useful member of society, he not only became a useless burden to the community, but a plotter and intriguer, imbued with a deadly hatred of the white man who had generously declared him free.

"Now, as the Negro was originally imported as a laborer, but now refuses to labor, it is evident that he is a lamentable failure. Either he must be compelled to work, by some stringent law against vagrancy, or these beautiful countries that prospered under the conditions of Negro forced industry must yield to ruin under Negro freedom and

idle independence. For an example of the results, look to St. Domingo.[1]

"Under peculiar guidance, and subject to a certain restraint, the Negro may be an important and most useful being; but if treated as an Englishman, he will affect the vices but none of the virtues of civilization, and his natural good qualities will be lost in his attempt to become a 'white man.'" [2]

(*e*) *Testimony of Miss Kingsley.*—Now note the almost identical opinions of Miss Kingsley: "I preface my remarks by stating that I have profound personal esteem for several missionaries, naturally, for it is impossible to know such men and women as Mr. and Mrs. Dennis Kemp, of the Gold Coast, Mme. and M. Jacot, and Mme. and M. Forget, and M. Gacon, and Dr. Nassau, of Gaboon, and many others without recognizing at once the beauty of their natures and the nobility of their intentions. Indeed, taken as a whole, the missionaries must be regarded as superbly brave, noble-minded men who go and risk their own lives, and often those of their wives and children, and definitely sacrifice their personal comfort and safety to do what, from their point of view, is their simple duty; but it is their methods of working that have produced in Africa the results which all truly interested in West Africa must deplore; and one is bound to make an admission that goes against one's insular prejudice—that the Protestant English missionaries have had most to do with rendering the African useless.

"The bad effects that have arisen from their teaching have come primarily from the failure of the missionary to recognize the difference between the African and themselves

[1] In referring to the refusal of the Negro to work Sir Samuel Baker had in mind the Negroes of the tropical countries only. The Negroes of the United States had just emerged from slavery and it was then too early to form an opinion as to how they were using their freedom. In the temperate zone the Negroes cannot live upon the spontaneous products of nature. They must work or starve.

[2] Vol. I, p. 294.

as being a difference not of degree but of kind. I am aware that they are supported in this idea by several eminent ethnologists; but still there are a large number of anatomical facts that point the other way, and a far larger number still relating to mental attributes, and I feel certain that a black man is no more an undeveloped white man than a rabbit is an undeveloped hare; and the mental difference between the two races is very similar to that between men and women among ourselves. . . . The missionary to the African has done what my father found him doing to the Polynesians—'regarding the native minds as so many jugs only requiring to be emptied of the stuff which is in them and refilled with the particular form of dogma he is engaged in teaching, in order to make them the equals of the white races.' This form of procedure works in very various ways. It eliminates those parts of the native fetish that were a wholesome restraint on the African. . . . Those Africans who are the chief mainstay of missionary reports and who afford such material for the scoffer thereat have merely had the restraint of fear removed from their minds in the mission schools without the greater restraint of love being put in its place.

"The missionary-made man is the curse of the Coast, and you find him in European clothes and without, all the way down from Sierra Leone to Loanda. The pagans despise him, the whites hate him, still he thinks enough of himself to keep him comfortable. His conceit is marvelous, nothing equals it except perhaps that of the individual rife among us which the *Saturday Review* once aptly described as 'the suburban agnostic'; and the missionary man is very much like the suburban agnostic in his religious method. After a period of mission-school life he returns to his country-fashion, and deals with the fetish connected with it very much in the same way as the suburban agnostic deals with his religion, *i. e.*, he removes from it all the inconvenient

portions. 'Shouldn't wonder if there might be something in the idea of the immortality of the soul, and a future heaven, you know—but as for hell, my dear sir, that's rank superstition, no one believes in it now, and as for Sabbath keeping and food restrictions—what utter rubbish for enlightened people!' So the backsliding African deals with his country-fashion ideas; he eliminates from them the idea of immediate retribution, etc., and keeps the polygamy and the dances, and all the lazy, hazy-minded native ways. The education he has received at the mission school in reading and writing fits him for a commercial career and as every African is a born trader he embarks on it, and there are pretty goings on! On the West Coast he frequently sets up in business for himself; on the Southwest Coast he usually becomes a sub-trader to one of the great English, French or German firms. On both Coasts he gets himself disliked, and brings down opprobrium on all black traders, expressed in language more powerful than select. This wholesale denunciation of black traders is unfair, because there are many perfectly straight trading natives; still the majority are recruited from missionary school failures, and are utterly bad.

"The two things to which the missionary himself ascribes his want of success are polygamy and the liquor traffic. Now polygamy is like most other subjects, a difficult thing to form a just opinion on, if before forming the opinion you make a careful study of the facts bearing on the case. It is therefore advisable, if you wish to produce an opinion generally acceptable in civilized circles, to follow the usual recipe for making opinions—just take a prejudice of your own, and fix it up with the so-called opinion of that class of people who go in for that sort of prejudice too. I have got myself so entangled with the facts that I cannot follow this plan, and therefore am compelled to think polygamy for the African is not an unmixed evil; and that

at the present culture-level of the African it is not to be eradicated. . . .

"As regards the drink traffic—no one seems inclined to speak the truth about it in West Africa; and what I say I must be understood to say only about West Africa, because I do not like to form opinions without having had opportunities for personal observation, and the only part of Africa I have had these opportunities in has been from Sierra Leone to Angola. . . .

"I do not say every missionary on the West Coast who makes untrue statements on this subject is an original liar; he is usually only following his leaders and repeating their observations without going into the evidence around him; and the missionary public in England and Scotland are largely to blame for their perpetual thirst for thrilling details of the amount of Baptisms and Experiences among the people they pay other people to risk their lives to convert, or for thrilling details of the difficulties these said missionaries have to contend with. As for the general public who swallow the statements, I think they are prone, from the evidence of the evils they see around them directly arising from drink, to accept as true—without bothering themselves with calm investigation—statements of a like effect regarding other people. I have no hesitation in saying that in the whole of West Africa, in one week, there is not one-quarter the amount of drunkenness you can see any Saturday night you choose in a couple of hours in the Vauxhall Road; and you will not find in a whole year's investigation on the Coast, one seventieth part of the evil, degradation, and premature decay you can see any afternoon you choose to take a walk in the more densely populated parts of any of our own towns. I own the whole affair is no business of mine; for I have no financial interest in the liquor traffic whatever. But I hate the preying upon emotional sympathy by misrepresentation, and I grieve to see thousands of

pounds wasted that are bitterly needed by our own cold, starving children. I do not regard the money wasted because it goes to the African but because such an immense percentage of it does no good and much harm to him."[1] Miss Kingsley goes on to say that owing to the extreme dampness of the Niger region, the moderate use of gin is not deleterious and that it is a substitute for the native palm-wine and other intoxicants which are in several ways very injurious to health and which the natives drink if they cannot get gin.[2]

"You may say—Well! if it is not the polygamy and not the drink that makes the West African as useless as he now is as a developer, or a means of developing the country, what is it? In my opinion it is the sort of instruction he has received, not that this instruction is necessarily bad in itself, but from being unsuited to the sort of man to whom it has been given. It has the tendency to develop his emotionalism, his sloth, and his vanity, and it has no tendency to develop those parts of his character which are in a rudimentary state and much want it; thereby throwing the whole character of the man out of gear."[3]

"There will be as there are now, and as there were in the past, individual Africans who will rise to a high level of culture, but that will be all for a very long period. To say that the African race will never advance beyond its present culture-level, is saying too much, in spite of the mass of evidence supporting this view, but I am certain he will never advance above it in the line of European culture. The country he lives in is unfitted for it, and the nature of the man himself is all against it—the truth is the West Coast mind has got a great deal too much superstition about it, and too little of anything else. Our own methods of instruction have not been of any real help to the African because what he wants teaching is how to work. Bishop In-

[1] P. 664. [2] P. 667. [3] P. 669.

gram would have been able to write a more cheerful book than his "Sierra Leone after 100 Years," if the Sierra Leonians had had a thorough grounding in the technical culture, suited to the requirements of their country, instead of the ruinous instruction they have been given, at the cost of millions of money and hundreds of good, if ill-advised, white men's lives. For it is possible for a West African native to be made by European culture into a very good sort of man, not the same sort of man that a white man is, but a man a white man can shake hands with and associate with without any loss of self-respect. It is by no means necessary, however, that the African should have any white culture at all to become a decent member of society at large. Quite the other way about, for the percentage of honorable and reliable man among the Bushmen is higher than among the educated men." [1]

Views almost exactly in line with those held by Sir Samuel Baker and Miss Kingsley are given by the distinguished German scholar, Dr. Friedrich Ratzel, in his "Anthropogeographie." [2]

[1] P. 680.

[2] "Phenomena of contact of a higher and a lower culture.

"Upon the latter soil one may think that the European innovations are sown, but their contact, their implanting remains not an external process. The human comes to men not without arousing, exciting and calling forth wants and creating ideas. Most frequently there follows the abandonment of the old customs and eager adoption of the new: old standards decline and new ones are only gradually created. We can characterize this condition of unrest as fermentation: it is an inner process of decomposition brought about by external attack, in which disintegration and renovation are united but in such a way that the former is first effective, upon whose soil covered by débris the other then prepares its field. There might not be found a single exception to the general rule that natural people rapidly decline in contact with a higher culture in order again later and slowly to rise, if they are able to make use of the new culture. The question is then only whether there is sufficient time for them to carry this movement to the end. The well known dying out of natural people is rendered so sad just because it takes place through cultural decline, and where the improving, ascending movement has set in it is often checked and made futile by this falling off in numbers. Evil influences hasten this course but the best purpose has not been often able to arrest it. In North America and Australia there

Unfavorable Results May be Due to Temporary Reaction Except as to Negroes of the Banana Zone.—May it not be that the present backward tendency of the Sudan Negroes represents only a natural and temporary disorganization incident to a too sudden introduction of civilized ideas and customs? It is certainly a fact, true of the white race, that any revolutionary change of ideas and institutions, is followed by a period of moral retrogression and then a period of favorable reaction. May it not be that the Negro is passing through

are numerous examples of the fact that since the beginning of regular support on the part of the government greater dependence accompanied by greater poverty, has gained more ground. In Siberia the abandonment of the nomadic wandering for the blessings of settled life has only hastened the retrogression. The missions have often been able to prepare only a slight check against this retrogression just because they level and democratize the original structure of society before they have scattered their seed. In the face of these facts Mallory's phrase adopted by Gerland cannot be confirmed; to wit, when the population disappears in the face of a civilization it is dissipated not by culture but by the barbarism of the whites.

"The higher culture generally acts injuriously, as a matter of course, without any purpose to do so, when it cripples the native desire to create, and the native impetus to work of a people standing upon a lower and especially upon a different economic basis. What culture and Christianity wishes for the best, destroys the exchange system of the economic foundation. Apparent progress as the building of wooden houses, the introduction of metals, of European articles of clothing and the like, is not always progress in the economic life of the natives. Trade hastens the time of the transition and at the same time sweeps away the poor against their will. On that account the Tunguses of Middendorf with good reason complained that the traders visited them in their fixed quarters instead of confining themselves to the markets. Almost as a rule the best hunters and many owners of herds of cattle in that country are involved in debts. The dwindling of the once flourishing flocks of cattle of the Kirghis and their impoverishment through the purchasing of grain and the frequent famines are attributed likewise to the trade. Also they have lost in land. The trade not only brings useful things but floods the simple people with commodities for which they grasp as children after sweetmeats; brandy, opium, tobacco, betel, and with improved weapons which make their wars bloody and in a manifold sense more costly. Things that had value lose in value and apparently worthless things gained are rapaciously used up and destroyed. The Australians complained that the Europeans exterminated their game, burned down the reeds with which they built their huts and mowed down the grass upon which they slept.

"The loosening brought about by influences so foreign and new in the whole social structure of a people is certainly very noticeable. In Polynesia, where the population of a single island, of a single community and of a single tribe were in close

the first of these transition periods preparatory to a re-awakening? The view of the writer is that this may be true of the Negroes of some portions of Africa or America but not of those of the banana region, for the reason that they have not the fundamental intellectual or moral strength to react from the decomposition which the clash with civilization has

contact, the rapid change of religion, customs and usages has brought about a disturbing influence which, of course, we can scarcely picture to ourselves. It was just in the first decades after the missionary work became known in Hawaii that one of the worst influences of civilization upon the people was observed, to wit, the loosening of the poor class of the population from their condition of dependency (serfdom) to the chiefs who forced them to work and gave them nourishment in return for it.

"An interesting example of the profound alterations which the influence of culture produces in the life and welfare of natural people is the description which Captain Wilkes gives of his visit to the chief of Lahania upon the island of Maui. He found him, who was a natural son of Kameahmea I, standing with his wife in his permanent dwelling place, a small grass hut. The chief spoke of improvements which he would willingly bring about in his dwelling but the means to do so failed him, as he said. No doubt his income from tapa and other native products was considerable, but the value of these articles had fallen since the intervention of European trade, to such a degree that the chief who had to represent his dignity by nourishing a clientele of beggars was almost as poor as any of his subjects. On account of the retrogression or stagnation of the population the erection of great public buildings in Micronesia has been likewise arrested, and for that reason a source of stimulation to the employment of the imagination and the hands has dried up; the people produce less than formerly, their originality has died out, and they are in an ethnological sense being impoverished.

"Just in so far as this loosening of the inner cohesion of the people of this stage renders it difficult for them to retain the advantage of the higher culture we hold the question of Quatrefages as justified; whether a high culture does not carry with it something that cannot be brought into harmony with the existence of subordinate races? The chief reason for this seems to be that the culture is not taken up in its proper connection and in its totality. The evil of culture lies in its halfness. It does not ripen upon this soil. In all mission fields the observation has been made that those who accept the European customs entirely, as well as those who live in original, unbounded savagery, suffer less than those straying here and there and vacillating between the settlements of the whites and their own hunting grounds. Kerry Nicholls, the latest visitor to free Maoriland, on the North Island of New Zealand, found the younger generation among the free Maori physically deteriorated in comparison with the powerful statures of the older. He found an immoderate use of tobacco, and attributed the decline from 56,000 in 1859 to 44,000 essentially to the half wild and half civilized life."—Vol. 2, pp. 349–352.

produced. No signs of reaction have been noticed within the last four centuries.

The presence of uniformed officers, maxim guns, missionaries and traders, here and there, may stop many savage practices and upon the surface there may be the appearance of an uplift. Many artificial restraints may be imposed by means of coercion, but if past policies continue to be carried out, the fundamental moral nature of the masses will remain disorganized. The only noticeable change will be the development of intellectual and moral characteristics which will make the Negroes more and more criminal and less and less able to survive in the struggle for existence. Even if the white race should never be able to populate this zone, the blacks will gradually die out from the effects of the disrupting of the native institutions which formerly saved them.

CHAPTER XL

SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE SUDAN

Political Stability the First Essential.—If the question now be asked, What general principles should govern the Europeans in their African colonies, the answer is as follows: First the natives should be developed, as far as possible, by a process of evolution similar to that experienced by every civilized nation. In the progress from savagery to civilization the Western races have gone through a period of struggle for territory, for the establishment of definite boundary lines and the maintenance of peace. Then a period of economic development, the training of people to habits of industry, to skill in the arts of production, trade and commerce, and the practice of economy and saving. Now, upon these two foundation stones,—political stability and industrial competence—the whole superstructure of civilization has been built,—education, science, philosophy and art. If it be said that religious and moral forces lie behind all this evolution, the writer will not object, except to add that religion and morals are not forces independent of and apart from the political, economic and general social activities of a people, but are involved equally in all of them and are the motives which give rise to them. There can be no religion or morality aside from these activities and the notion that they can be imparted in the abstract is an erroneous one. They can only become a real force by developing as an organic element in all lines of activity, and the general order of development is as above stated.

The Africans have been subjected to a line of treatment exactly opposite to that which every race must undergo in

its progress from savagery to civilization. First the missionary arrives upon the scene and attempts to change the psychological life of the people by imparting literary education and cramming the Negro brain with the highly abstract doctrines and philosophy of Christianity, but leaving his industrial life untouched. Next come the colonial officials with their brass buttons, red trousers and other gewgaws, who make some effort to maintain peace and protect commerce but upset native institutions and issue formal proclamations of emancipation to a people who have not learned the first principle of economic independence and who interpret the proclamation to mean that no one need work if he does not wish to. Then having set the natives free and created a labor famine, these same champions of emancipation turn around and reënslave the natives under the disguise of penal labor contracts and a variety of other cunning subterfuges. Finally, when the psychological life of the people is disorganized, the native institutions overthrown, the economic life paralyzed and the labor problem reaches an acute stage, the missionaries and brass-buttoned colonial officials awake to the need of introducing technical and industrial schools and attempting to do something by way of giving to the native societies some kind of industrial foundation—all of which is putting the horse behind the cart, and its stupidity is only equaled by its absurdity.

The first duty of European governments is to suppress intertribal warfare and aid the natives in defining their national boundaries and maintaining peace. Instead of this the Europeans have been busy in defacing native political divisions and substituting for them arbitrary administrative districts fashioned after European models. The result is to destroy the national existence and also the national pride of the natives and to deprive them of any opportunity to learn the art of government. The only wise policy is to leave the native government and officials as far as possible undis-

turbed and to aid them in the administration of public affairs, especially in revising the criminal code and dispensing justice. Mr. Williams of Lagos said at a banquet in London that the "English law was too highly developed and subtle to be understood by the bulk of his countrymen: therefore any development of the native laws and customs to meet present day needs should be carried out gradually."[1] Again he said, "Their own laws and customs were the best for them and they should be allowed to grow on these lines."[2] As a safeguard to the rights and interests of European residents, it is proper that a veto power be vested in the colonial governor.

Economic Renovation.—Following the establishment of peace and order, the next object of colonial governments should be to place the economic life of the people upon a more substantial basis. To this end the institution of slavery should be left intact and only modified as the natives reach the point of volunteering to work in such number as to meet the demands for labor.

Educational Needs.—The Negroes should be educated in mechanical, industrial and agricultural arts by daily practice and experiment and not by the theoretical process. There should be no book-learning until the demand for it is such that the natives begin to organize schools on their own account. Theoretical teaching should be limited to imparting practical information on the subject of sanitation. When the natives have gained for themselves a solid economic footing, *i. e.*, have learned to work with regularity, to maintain themselves in comfort and to accumulate something, then a system of literary and general education can be introduced that may do some good, and not, as it has done in the past, disqualify the people for industrial pursuits, and destroy their native *morale*. The Negroes of America, especially in the Southern United States, were put

[1] *African World*, November 4, 1905, p. 586. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 538.

through a course of training which corresponded more nearly to the natural evolution of things than the training which the black people have received in any other part of the world. First of all, they were trained to habits of industry and instructed in a variety of trades and crafts. The white man concerned himself very little about the religion of the Negroes except the practical side of it, and made almost no effort to eradicate, but rather humored, their superstitions, many of which exercised a wholesome restraint; but he insisted by precept and by the lash, upon their conformity to the moral code, *i. e.*, taught them to respect property rights, to give up polygamy, to tell the truth and be courteous and obedient. Thus when the time came for them to enter the schools and colleges they had already gone through a period of training which gave them an industrial and moral foundation that saved them from many of the disintegrating effects, so conspicuous in Africa, where education is begun too soon at the wrong end. This order of development was purely accidental but it was fortunate and the American Negroes owe to it whatever progress they have made or hope still to make.

As for university education, that may be encouraged for the few, mostly mulattoes, who may aspire to something exceptional; and it would produce only good results if the motive to hate the white man and to turn against their own race, could be eliminated from the Negroes in the way already indicated.

Changes Should be Gradual and Accomplished Through Native Leaders.—It is very evident that the economic, moral and intellectual development of the African can be brought about only by a gradual modification of native character and institutions through the instrumentality of native leaders, *i. e.*, chiefs, princes, magistrates, medicine men, etc., who are the main supports of the existing structure and the natural moulders of the characters of the masses. Every race

has its natural and spontaneous leaders and can be influenced for the better only through them and never in opposition to them, even in the case of conquest, unless the conquerors and conquered are on practically the same level of culture. Usually the missionaries set themselves in opposition to the native authorities, especially the conjurer, who is often the most intelligent and influential man of the community ; and they depend upon the personal influence that they exert upon a miscellaneous crowd of natives, mostly boys and girls gathered here and there, and placed, by a system of education, at a great distance from the commonalty. This method can never succeed.

Suggestions to Missionaries.—Missionaries should not seek to make any radical change in the institutions and traditional conceptions of the people, but address themselves to quickening and building up those common and fundamental precepts and practices which lie at the foundation of character and institutions and which alone can modify either with beneficial results. They should leave to native teachers and leaders the general education of the masses and the direction of their social and political institutions. This was the general policy of the greatest of modern missionaries, David Livingstone.

The missionaries would see a different result from their work if they would recognize the truth that God is in all religions and reveals himself to all men according to their capacity for light. If, instead of attempting to overthrow suddenly and completely as an abomination, all that the Negro believes, the missionaries would see the fact that the Negro has in his religion something of that Divine Spirit which is the basis of all morality and which has carried the white race through its stages of evolution, and if they would seek to train the intelligence and habits of the Negro so that his religion would gradually and spontaneously modify itself, the tendency would be to strengthen his moral

character rather than to disorganize it. The great fault of missionary effort everywhere is that it measures its success by the rapidity with which it demolishes native faith and beliefs, and minimizes the essential and final thing by which all men are to be judged; to wit, conduct.[1]

The very notable sociological study of missions by Dr. Dennis[2] gives hope of some improvement in missionary methods and results, although it lends too much sanction to a ruthless destruction of native faiths and beliefs.[3] Many African superstitions are not only as harmless as a child's belief in Santa Claus, but beautiful and temporarily beneficial in cultivating the poetic faculties and even in promoting good conduct. The belief in spirits has not been incompatible with the progress of civilization and Christianity among the whites, but may have been in many ways, not yet known to us, necessary and valuable. The wise missionary, therefore, will begin his work by attending to the native's daily life, especially to his sanitary needs (which by the way are emphasized by Christ),[4] and attacking first and gradually those fictions only which have an injurious effect upon conduct.

The missionary methods employed by Christ were precisely those here recommended and those which harmonize with the general evolutionary process. Christ did not begin his ministry by attacking the traditional philosophy or political institutions of his age, nor by recommending a system of literary education. When a certain man asked what he should do to inherit eternal life Christ did not reply as the modern missionary or evangelist would do, by saying, you must first give up all traditional beliefs and accept without quibble such and such doctrines; but he simply told the man he must regulate his *conduct* so that he should

[1] Matthew 12 : 50; 25 : 1–46.
[2] "Christian Missions and Social Progress."
[3] Vol. 1, p. 319.
[4] Matthew 25 : 35–41.

obey the social obligations of a good citizen and learn to love his fellow men.[1] Christ declared that he did not come to destroy the law or the prophets. He did not advise men to tear down the institutions under which they were living but to render to Cæsar the tribute that was due him. Instead of preaching metaphysical doctrines and plotting against the state, he first gathered around him a few fishermen and went about among the common people, visiting and helping the sick, and giving simple practical talks on the most commonplace and elementary virtues, about which there could be the least division of opinion.[2] What he attacked was not the old doctrines of the priests and prophets but the old morality of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," and the evil life of the scribes and Pharisees.[3] He said, "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, *that* observe and do; but do not ye after their *works*." He spoke many parables emphasizing the duties and obligations of daily life, especially enjoining that men be industrious, frugal,[4] make use of their talents,[5] bear good fruit[6] and serve it to those who need it.[7] The missionary idea is shown clearly by Christ in his parable of the "leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened," and that of the mustard seed, "Which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof." [8]

The Christianity of Christ is the inculcation of a principle of life which regenerates and gradually develops as a little seed and bears fruit in a ripening of the whole economic, social, political and philosophic powers of the human race. Its simplicity and freedom from confusing and dis-

[1] Matthew 20 : 16–21. [2] For example, the Sermon on the Mount.
[3] Matthew, chapter 23. [4] *Ibid.*, 25 : 1–13. [5] *Ibid.*, 25 : 14–23.
[6] *Ibid.*, 13 : 23. [7] *Ibid.*, 20 : 27; 19 : 21. [8] *Ibid.*, 13 : 32.

tracting dogmas explain why it took root among the people and revolutionized Western civilization. In this connection it would be well to say that the recent complaint of the decline of Christianity is due alone to the fact that the teachings of Christ have been departed from and buried under the weight of twenty centuries of accumulated dogmas, creeds and obligatory confessions. The best people of our age are becoming weary of sectarian competition and antagonisms, like the competition and antagonisms already discredited in the commercial world, and of the wrangle and jangle and divisions over philosophical questions, which were never mentioned or thought of by Christ, but developed only in the metaphysical schools of Rome and Western Europe centuries after his death.

The reason of the success of Mohammedanism among the blacks is that it does not effect a radical modification of native institutions. The Mussulman does not, as the Christian missionary, attempt, as the first thing, to antagonize old doctrines and infuse new ones, but he begins by living among the natives, working and trading among them. He is unobtrusive and tolerant and thus the natives convert themselves by imitation.[1] Whatever other objections may be raised against Mohammedanism the truth of Sevin's statement cannot be questioned, to wit, that it is certainly a step towards civilization.[2] For the present the extension of Mohammedanism among fetich tribes ought not to be discouraged for that would probably alienate the people.[3] The Negroes of the Sudan can be converted to Christianity most effectively and speedily by a general improvement of their political, economic and social life as above outlined, relegating to the background such secondary matters, as the doctrines of the Trinity, Apostolic Succession, Predestination, Baptism, Final Perseverance of the Saints, and

[1] Chapiseau, pp. 164, 165; Jackson, "Morocco," p. 300.
[2] P. 219.
[3] Chapiseau, p. 167.

Transubstantiation, about which Christians differ so widely among themselves.

Need of Racial Pride and Solidarity.—The most essential thing for missionaries is to avoid teaching the false philosophy of the equality of all races and the doctrine of abstract rights. The races of mankind are not equal nor capable of adjusting themselves to the same institutions. The Negroes should be taught that they will have a right to enjoy all of the political and social privileges of the white race only when they lift their race to the level of the white race. Then the educated Negroes instead of turning away from their race with the curled lip of disdain, will turn towards it with a helping hand. They will then have a motive to build up race pride and solidarity which will make for peace, happiness and progress. Instead of teaching the Negro to ape the white man, teach him the danger of it and the necessity of developing his inhibiting power by a simplicity of life which curbs luxury and the cravings that destroy. A seed sown in the tropical zone cannot develop into the same plant, flower or fruit as the same seed sown in the temperate zone. It can be recognized as the same species but the product of the two zones will be very different. Each zone will impart a peculiar form, color and flavor. So it is with the implanting of an idea, Christian or other, into different races of men. Each race can come to its highest realization, not by imitating another, but by taking pride in what is natural and peculiar to itself. Hence while all races should have a common civilization each should retain its individuality.

Elimination of Political and Racial Conflict by Native Representation in Legislation.—It is essential to the welfare of both races that the white race should maintain political control of Africa and prevent a menacing increase of Negro voters. In all local legislative bodies the natives should be represented by their own race in the proportion of, say, one-

third of the total number of representatives. Thus political and racial conflict would be eliminated and a door of opportunity opened to the natives to enter politics and to render service to their race. This policy should continue until such time in the distant future as the masses of the blacks shall have developed that mastery of self which shall place them upon a moral equality with the whites. A share in the government of this kind would be a valuable schooling for the race and would be better in every way than the political equality which they possess only theoretically in America, and which practically excludes them from all halls of legislation and renders them only so many dice and trump-cards for white demagogues.

But what the Africans need as much as a wise colonial policy is the influence of example in the personnel of European administrators and entrepreneurs. Sevin says, "L'Afrique a surtout besoin d'honnêtes gens dans l'acception la plus rigoureuse du mot."[1]

The carrying out of the policies just outlined might not at all insure the survival of the Negro races in the zone of the banana but would bring about the conditions most favorable to their peace, happiness and moral and intellectual advancement.

The same general policies should apply to the people of the millet and cattle zones where the possibilities of progress are somewhat greater. The natives of the millet zone have industrious habits and talents for trade and handicrafts which promise well for them under British rule; and in the cattle zone, the people, especially the Fellatahs and Kanuris have a relatively high order of intellectual capacity, a spirit of pride and independence and an industrial adaptability which argue well for their future, if the past mistakes in dealing with the Negro are not continued and thus bring to naught these bright prospects. In many

[1] P. 229.

localities the Negroes have some good natural qualities and under proper control are capable of becoming useful producers and developing into a race that should command respect. The chief reason that the Negro race has fallen so low in the world's estimation is simply because it has been theoretically treated as the equal of the white race, and consequently, while assimilating all of the vices of the white man, it has fallen under the condemnation of the white man's high standards.

A Final Word.—As a final word the writer wishes to say that it is difficult for him or any one accustomed to civilized surroundings, to do justice to the savage. The books dealing with him have so generally emphasized and exaggerated his vices and bestiality that the civilized reader has come to regard all of the characteristics, ideas and institutions of the savage as wholly bad, whereas they represent only the inevitable conditions of a stage of development through which the human race has had to pass. It is therefore no more rational to despise the savage than to despise the seedling because it has not yet become a plant with fruit and flower. If the Sudan Negroes are far behind the other races of the world, it is in a measure due to an adverse environment, which in the economy of nature, was hardly intended to do more than carry them through a preliminary stage of development. In some measure they are censurable for their backwardness, since races, as individuals, have teleological power—*i. e.*, a certain freedom to choose and carve out their destiny. But the teleological power of the Sudan natives is relatively feeble and their responsibility is therefore not the same as that of civilized people.

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Brief Account of the Discovery of Africa, with Biographical Sketches of the Principal Explorers Mentioned in this Book

In the earliest historic times when civilization centred around the Mediterranean, Africa, known then as Libya, was one of the three great divisions of the earth, of which Europe and Asia were the other two. Whether the Libyan or Hamitic peoples of Africa were or were not autochthonous is a problem for the settlement of which no sufficient data exists. The knowledge possessed by the ancients of the continent as a whole can be briefly stated. The rulers of Egypt, as subsequently those of Carthage, attempted to extend their influence towards the south and west; but the physical and climatic conditions and the savage tribes encountered presented an effective bar to extended progress at that time. An inscription assigned to the period of the Eleventh (Theban) Dynasty tells of a voyage made by the command of one of the rulers of that dynasty to the land of Punt, probably Somaliland. Recent discoveries also seem to increase the credibility of traditions which assigned the biblical lands of Ophir to the eastern coast of Africa. About thirty centuries ago the enterprising Phœnicians planted Utica (1100 B. C.), Carthage (826 B. C.) and other colonies along the Mediterranean coast, and the Greeks, beginning in the eighth century, planted colonies in Cyrenaica and points east of Carthage.

The known explorations of the Dark Continent may be said to begin with the famous voyage made by Phœnicians about 600 B. C., an account of which is preserved by

Herodotus. There is no reason for doubting the general accuracy of the account which describes the voyage as made by command of Necho, king of Egypt, who had just completed a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. The expedition sailed down the Red Sea and along the coast of Africa, until the sun for many weeks "rose on their right hand." After a long absence the explorers returned to Egypt through the Pillars of Hercules, so that they must have circumnavigated the continent. A hundred years later, also according to Herodotus, a Persian of noble birth, Sataspes, started, with a Carthaginian crew, down the west coast of Africa, but was compelled to turn back. It is doubtful if he went far beyond the Phœnician settlements, which beginning at Gades, just without the Pillars of Hercules, already extended well down the coast of Morocco, along which Hanno, about 450 B. C., planted a series of colonies. The Madeira and Canary Islands were probably within the scope of the seagoing trade of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. The Carthaginian traders trafficked by sea with the Gold Coast and by land along the caravan routes which communicated with the flourishing regions of Upper Egypt and the Niger. It is probable that almost contemporaneously with the Phœnician settlements in Northern Africa, Arabs entered the country South of the Zanzibar, and, going inland, found and worked the gold mines which have been recently rediscovered. The Greeks began to colonize Northern Africa in the seventh century, B. C. After the conquest and destruction of Carthage by Rome (146 B. C.) all Northern Africa was gradually drawn into the growing empire; but Rome's interest lay in the known and organized regions, upon which she strengthened the hold of civilization, ignoring all that lay beyond her well defined boundaries, a policy which was accentuated as the empire tended towards decay.

Christianity was introduced into Africa in the earliest

days and the North African Church was a recognized division of the Christian Church in the second century. But the church was destined to have a short life. Undermined by formalism and apathy, it fell beneath the Mohammedan onslaught in the seventh century. During the Germanic invasions, the Vandals grasped the African provinces and in the early mediæval period much that had been known to Ptolemy and the geographers who preceded him was forgotten. . . . What Europe was forgetting, the Arabs, in the advance of the Mohammedan power, rediscovered. From Arabia the new faith spread rapidly westward along the southern shores of the Mediterranean and inland across the desert. It took such deep root in Northern Africa that the Christian religion which in many places was then well established, has never been able to regain a real foothold among the native races.

If traditions may be believed Norman vessels from Dieppe visited the Gold Coast as early as 1364 and in 1413 the Normans built a fort at Elmina. There is neither inherent improbability in this story nor satisfactory evidence to prove it, but it is probable that Norman voyagers found their way to the West African coast at a very early period.

The real opening of Africa to the knowledge of the modern world began with Prince Henry of Portugal, called the Navigator. In 1415, he participated in the victorious campaign of Portugal against the Moorish citadel of Ceuta and his interest was awakened by the enigma of the unknown continent. On his return he devoted himself to the task of sending expedition after expedition down the African coast to determine the extent of the continent, and to find if possible a way to the east around it. These expeditions crept farther and farther southward until Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed as far as India.[1]

In the fifteenth century Leo Africanus made important

[1] "New International Encylopædia," Vol. 1, pp. 180–1.

discoveries in Northern and Central Africa. He was born at Granada, Spain, about 1485, of Moorish parents who emigrated to Fez in Morocco after the capture of Granada by the Spaniards. At sixteen he accompanied an uncle on an embassy to Timbuctu and afterwards traveled through several countries of North Central Africa, penetrating Bornu to Nubia, descending the Nile and extending his explorations into Persia. Returning from Constantinople by sea in 1517 he was captured by corsairs and taken to Rome where he became a Christian, was patronized by Pope Leo X whose name he took, his original name being Al Hassan Ibu Mohammed. His great work, the "Description of Africa," was written in Arabic and published in 1550.[1]

Among the modern Explorers the following are those most prominently mentioned in this volume and whose lives and works awaken the most universal interest.

BAKER, SIR SAMUEL WHITE, was equipped in 1869 by the Khedive of Egypt at the request of the Prince of Wales to suppress the slave trade in the Upper Nile regions. He was constituted pasha and governor of Central Africa for four years, and was commanded to annex the countries he visited, to open up navigation and to establish military and trade stations at intervals throughout the region, with Gondokoro as the base of operations. He arrived at Khartum in 1870 with six steel steamers built in sections, 1,600 native troops, and a corps of artisans, and vast quantities of goods for trading purposes. His journey up the Nile was impeded by the drifting vegetation or sudd through which he had to cut channels with swords. He was attacked by crocodiles, wild beasts and every species of tropical insect, but most of all by the Arab slave traders, particularly one Abow Saood, the greatest slave-trader of Central Africa, a representative of the house of Agad & Co., of Khartum,

[1] "Universal Cyclopædia and Atlas," Vol. 7, p. 151.

who stirred up the natives to make war on him. Finally, however, on April 15, 1870, Baker reached Gondokoro, a distance of 1,409 miles from Khartum. With his forces reduced to 600, having sent back to Khartum the wounded and sick and some women and children to the number of one thousand, he pushed on to Masinda, the capital of Unyoro. Here his forces were greatly depleted by an uprising of the natives and he won the day only after a fierce fight and the total destruction of the town. Baker's further career in Africa was marked by numerous and dramatic incidents. He returned to Khartum June 29, 1873, and proceeded then to Cairo, where he was received with numerous marks of honor by the Khedive. The results of the expedition were of immediate and great importance to the future of Central Africa. The infamous slave-hunter, Abow Saood, was subsequently removed to Cairo in chains. The occupation of the equatorial provinces was continued by the Khedive who appointed Colonel Gordon to command.[1]

BARTH, HEINRICH, was born at Hamburg in 1821, educated at the University of Berlin and spent the rest of his life in travel and exploration, except the last few years, during which he was professor of geography in the university from which he had graduated. He made his first trip to North Africa in 1845, visiting Tunis, Tripoli, Benghasi and Cyrenaica, and traveled down the valley of the Nile. In 1849 he visited Africa again, spending five years in explorations in the Sudan. He died in 1865.[2]

BINGER, CAPTAIN LOUIS GUSTAVE, native of France, born in 1856, explored the whole region from the Senegal to the Ivory Coast in an expedition, 1887–89. Starting from Bamaku he traveled southeastward through Sikaso,

[1] "Encyclopædia Britannica," American Supplement, Vol. 1, p. 61.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 401.

capital of Tieba to the famous town of Kong which he was the first European to enter, thence north to Wakara in the Dafina district, crossing the upper course of the Comoe and Black Volta, thence through the wasted Gurunsi country to Wagadugu, capital of the flat Mossi country. After making a complete circuit of the Gold Coast he followed the Akba River due south to Grand Bassam.[1]

DU CHAILLU, PAUL BELLONI, a French traveler, naturalized as a citizen of the United States, was born in Paris, July 31, 1835. He was the son of a French merchant of Equatorial Africa, trading near the mouth of the River Gaboon. Having become familiar in his youth with the neighboring tribes young Du Chaillu undertook an exploring expedition at the age of twenty into the interior of the country. He made important discoveries and added greatly to our knowledge of the Dark Continent. He was one of the first travelers to describe the gorilla of which he collected a number of specimens. He also collected many previously unknown birds. As a result of his extensive explorations he published the following works: "Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa," 1861; "A Journey to Ashango Land," 1867; "Wild Life Under the Equator," 1869; "Lost in the Jungle," 1869; "My Apingi Kingdom," 1870; "Stories of the Gorilla Country," 1868; "The Country of the Dwarfs," 1871, and "Western Africa," 1874.

CLAPPERTON, HUGH, native of Dumfriesshire, England, commissioned by the British government to accompany Dr. Oudney and Colonel Denham to make an exploration of Northern Africa. Setting out in 1822 they passed through Tripoli, then crossed the desert by way of Murzuk to Kouka, the capital of Bornu. Clapperton and Denham thence traveled westward to investigate the course

[1] Stanford, Vol. 1, p. 270.

of the Niger, but Oudney died on the way and Clapperton returned to Kouka where he joined Denham and returned with him to England.[1] In 1825 Clapperton was sent with another expedition to Africa. He was accompanied by Captain Pierce, Mr. Dickson, Dr. Morrison and Richard Lander, the latter acting as Clapperton's servant. He landed at Badagry in the Bight of Benin and proceeded inland. Captain Pierce and Dr. Morrison soon perished from the effects of the bad climate. In 1826 Clapperton reached Katunga, the capital of Yariba, thence crossed the Niger at Broussa where later Mungo Park met his untimely fate. In July he arrived at Kano, a city which he had visited on his previous journey. Leaving Lander at Kano he proceeded alone to Sokoto (Sackatoo), intending to go as far as Timbuctu. The sultan, however, detained him at Sokoto, where he died from a climatic disease in April, 1827. An account of his travels was published by Lander.[2]

DUNCAN, MAJOR, was a member of the British Niger Expedition of 1841, which resulted in failure and a melancholy loss of life. In 1845–46 he made a trip to the interior of Dahomi and added considerably to our geographical knowledge of that region. In another expedition in the same region, for the purpose of advancing northward to Timbuctu he met an untimely death.[3]

EMIN, PASHA (1840–92), was born in Prussia of Jewish parents, his real name being Edward Schnitzer. He studied in Breslau, Berlin and Königsberg, taking his degree in medicine. In 1864 he went to Turkey and served as a surgeon in the Turkish army and in 1875 he removed to Egypt and became a surgeon in the army of the Sudan under General Gordon. In 1878 he was appointed governor

[1] "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. 5, p. 802. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 246.

of the equatorial provinces in southern Sudan. He personally conducted exploring expeditions and secured valuable collections of botanical and zoölogical specimens.

After the revolt of the Dervishes under Mahdi in 1881 he was completely cut off from Egypt and the rest of the world, but was able to maintain himself and keep his provinces under control. While still isolated from the civilized world he was made a Pasha by the Egyptian Government in 1887. In the following year he was rescued by an expedition led by Henry M. Stanley who tried in vain to induce Emin to return with him to Egypt, but the Pasha would not leave his people to whom he was devoted. In the following year, however, influenced by representatives of the Dervishes, the provinces rose in revolt and Emin was deposed and imprisoned. On being released he reluctantly returned to Egypt and resigned his office. In 1890 he entered the service of the German East African Company and followed Dr. Stuhlmann on an expedition to Central Africa. It was while engaged in this work, which he prosecuted with heroic energy, in spite of almost extinct eyesight, that he was assassinated by two Arabs.[1]

GORDON, CHARLES GEORGE (1833–85), familiarly known as Chinese Gordon and Gordon Pasha was born at Woolwich, educated at Taunton and the Royal Military Academy. Among the many events of his life it may be mentioned that he served through the Crimean War: in 1860 he joined the Anglo-French forces in China and was present at the capture of Peking. He made expeditions into the interior of China and on account of various services the Chinese Emperor conferred upon him the highest Chinese military title. In 1874 he was sent by Ismail Pasha to establish authority in Egypt in the Upper Nile basin and was appointed governor of the Equatorial Provinces. Sub-

[1] "The New International Encyclopædia," Vol. 6, p. 694.

sequently he was created a Pasha and in 1877 the Khedive appointed him Governor of the Sudan. His administration was marked by wonderful energy and activity in establishing communications, developing natural resources and suppressing rebellion and slavery. The deposition of Ismail in 1879 led to his resignation.

When later Hicks Pasha's army had been overwhelmed by the forces of the Mahdi and the Gladstone Government had insisted on the Khedive's abandonment of the Sudan, Gordon was commissioned to effect the withdrawal of the scattered garrisons and the evacuation of the country. He arrived at Khartum in 1884 and after being beleaguered there and meeting with many reverses and much treachery, the city finally was captured and the heroic commander slain.[1]

KINGSLEY, MARY H., daughter of George Henry Kingsley and niece of Charles Kingsley, was born in London, 1862. When a mere girl she became interested in science and later studied Darwin, Huxley, Lubbock and other scientists. In 1893 she went to Saint Paul de Loanda, in Portuguese West Africa, to study biology and returned the next year after encountering many difficulties and traveling through parts of the country known only to the natives. In the latter part of 1896 she returned to Africa for the purpose of exploring the lower Niger region and studying its flora. In the elephant and gorilla countries she had several narrow escapes, traveling frequently up the rivers and through the bush with only native attendants. She traveled through the Niger Coast Protectorate, Cameroon and Gaboon. The results of her journeys were published in the exceedingly interesting "Travels in West Africa," 1897, and "West African Studies," 1899. Early in 1900 she went to South Africa and was attached to the military hospital at Simons Town,

[1] "The New International Encyclopædia," Vol. 8, p. 526.

where, after nursing sick Boer prisoners, she fell ill and died June 3, 1900.[1]

LANDER, RICHARD (1804–1834) and John (1807–1839), his brother were natives of Cornwall, England. Richard accompanied Clapperton on his second expedition and upon the latter's death at Sokoto, 1827, returned to England and published an account of the expedition.

In 1830 the British Government sent him to explore the course of the Niger, his brother John joining him as an unsalaried volunteer. They landed at Badagry and traveled inland to Boosa on the Niger and thence, as far up the river as Yaoorie. They then descended the river to its mouth proving that it discharged into the Delta of the Gulf of Guinea. They published a narrative of their travels in 1832 and the same year Richard was sent out by some Liverpool merchants for the purpose of opening up trade in the Niger and founding a commercial settlement at the junction of the Benue with the main river. After making several successful journeys he was on his way up the river in January, 1834, when on the 20th, the party were attacked by natives and Lander was wounded. He died of his wounds at Fernando Po, February 6.[2]

LIVINGSTONE, DAVID (1813–1873), was born in Lanarkshire, Scotland, of poor but self-respecting parents, typical examples of all that is best among the humbler families of his country. At the age of twenty-three years, after having worked a long time in a neighboring cotton-mill, he began his college education, which among other things, included courses in medicine, theology and natural science. After receiving his medical degree he volunteered for missionary service and was sent to Africa in 1840 and proceeded direct

[1] "The New International Encyclopædia," Vol. 10, p. 713.
[2] "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. 14, p. 272.

to Kuruman the missionary station 700 miles north of Algoa Bay, established by Moffat thirty years before.

The policy of Livingstone was to open up new missionary fields here and there and leave the details to be worked in by the native agents. His first station was in the Mabotsa valley on one of the sources of the Limpopo, 200 miles northeast of Kuruman. It was here that he was attacked by a lion which crushed his left arm and nearly put an end to his career. The arm was imperfectly set and became a source of trouble to him throughout his life and was the means of identifying his body after his death. To a house mainly built by himself at Mabotsa, Livingstone in 1844, brought home his wife, Mary Moffat, the daughter of missionary Moffat of Kuruman.

Among Livingstone's most notable achievements it may be mentioned that he was the first white man to visit Lake Ngame, the first to cross the Kalahari Desert. He explored the Zambesi River, discovering the great Victoria Falls. He explored Lake Nyassa and later Lake Tanganyika in the effort to find the Nile sources. "No single explorer," says the "Encyclopædia Britannica," "has ever done so much for African geography as Livingstone during his thirty years' work. His travels covered one-third of the Continent, extending from the Cape to near the equator and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean."

Not less important than his geographical discoveries and missionary pioneering were his efforts in behalf of the suppression of the slave-trade. It was chiefly through his description of its operations that the conscience of the civilized world was awakened to its horrors and that the European governments were spurred to take active measures for its suppression throughout Africa.

After the death of his wife in 1862 he returned to England, hoping to remain there the remainder of his life, but was prevailed upon three years later to undertake another

expedition, partly for geographical researches and partly for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade. He landed at the mouth of the Rovuma in March, 1866, and with a company of about twenty-five natives and a supply of camels, buffaloes, mules and donkeys, started for the interior. This imposing outfit melted away to four or five boys. Rounding the south end of Lake Nyassa, he advanced towards the south end of Tanganyika. On December the 15th, he lost the last of his animals, four goats, and in the following January his medicine chest was stolen. Fever and other climatic diseases now attacked him, against which he had no medicines to combat. Nevertheless he dragged himself along, reaching Lake Moero and then the Lualaba River which he believed was the upper part of the Nile. In July he returned eastward and discovered Lake Bangweola. Proceeding then up the west coast of Tanganyika he reached Ujiji, "a ruckle of bones." Some supplies had been forwarded to him at that point but the natives to whom they were intrusted made way with them. Undaunted, however, he recrossed Tanganyika and marched back to the Lualaba where he remained four months vainly trying to get a canoe to take him over to the west shore. Discouraged now and physically exhausted, he made his way back to Ujiji. Five days after his arrival there he was cheered and inspired with new life and completely set up again by the timely arrival of Henry M. Stanley, who had been sent out by James Gordon Bennet of the New York *Herald* to find the apparently lost missionary. Stanley's sojourn with Livingstone was almost the only bright episode of these last sad years. With Stanley, Livingstone explored the north end of Tanganyika and then started eastward for Unyanyembe where Stanley provided Livingstone with an ample supply of goods and bade him farewell.

Livingstone now set out for Lake Bangweola proceeding along the east side of Tanganyika. The journey was

through swamps and under an endless downpour of rain and the brave missionary was again attacked by disease. By the middle of April he had to be carried on a litter, and early on the morning of May 1st the boys found "the great master," as they called him, kneeling by the side of his bed, dead. His faithful men preserved his body in the sun as well as they could, and wrapping it carefully up, carried it and all his papers, instruments and other things across Africa to Zanzibar. It was borne to England with all honor and on April 18, 1874, was deposited in Westminster Abbey amid tokens of mourning and admiration such as England accords only to her greatest sons. It will be a long time before the tradition of his sojourn dies out among the African people who almost without exception regarded him as a superior being. His treatment of them was always tender, gentle and gentlemanly. Personally Livingstone was a pure and tender-hearted man, full of humanity and sympathy and as simple-minded as a child. The motto of his life was the advice he gave to some school-children in Scotland,—"Fear God and work hard." [1]

MOFFAT, ROBERT (1795–1883), was born in Scotland of humble parentage. He learned the craft of gardening but in 1814 offered himself to the London Missionary Society which two years later sent him to South Africa. After spending a year in Namaqualand, he married Miss Mary Smith, of Cape Town, "a remarkable woman and most helpful wife." In 1820 he and his wife left Cape Town and settled among the Bechuana tribes lying to the west of the Vaal River. He made frequent journeys to the neighboring regions, as far north as the Matabele country. He translated the whole Bible into the Bechuana language. While solicitous to turn the people to Christian belief he was the first to take a broad view of the missionary function

[1] "Encylcopædia Britannica," Vol. 14, p. 720.

and to realize the importance of inducing the savage to adopt the arts of civilization. He himself was a builder, carpenter, smith, gardener and farmer, all in one and by precept and example succeeded in turning a horde of bloodthirsty savages into a "people appreciating and cultivating the arts and habits of civilized life, with a written language of their own." It was largely due to him that the work of Livingstone, his son-in-law, took the direction which it did. In 1870 Moffat returned finally to his native land where he died August 9, 1883.[1]

PARK, MUNGO (1771–1806?), was a native of Selkirkshire, Scotland. He was sent out by the African Association in 1795 to explore the Niger. He set out from the River Gambia and proceeded into the interior reaching the Niger at Segu. He returned to England in December, 1796, with the distinction of being the first European to reach the well nigh fabulous waters of the Niger. He published an account of his travels in 1799. He married a daughter of his old master, Mr. Anderson, and commenced practice as a country doctor.

In 1805 he accepted Lord Hobart's proposal that he should take command of another Niger expedition. In May of that year he reached Pisania (on the Gambia) and advanced with his caravan to the Niger—but the bad season caused nearly all of his men to die by the time he had reached Sansanding. Then he set sail down the river with the resolution to find the termination of the river or perish in the attempt. When he reached as far as Boussa he was attacked by some natives and drowned in the effort to escape.[2]

ROHLFS, FRIEDRICH GERHARD, was born at Vegesack, Germany, April 14, 1831. After studying medicine he went

[1] "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. 16, p. 543. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. 18, p. 278.

to Algeria as a surgeon in the French army. In 1860 he passed to Morocco and in the disguise of a Mohammedan was the first European to enter the oasis Tafilet. On his return journey he was severely wounded. In 1863 he crossed the Atlas Mountains, visited the oasis Tuat and returned by the way of Rhadames and Tripoli. In a third expedition, in 1866, he reached Lake Chad and crossed through the Sudan to the Niger and Guinea Coast. Later he went on exploring journeys to Abyssinia, the Libyan desert and again traversed the Sahara.[1]

SCHWEINFURTH, GEORGE AUGUST, was born at Riga, Germany, September 29, 1836. Educated there and at the University of Heidelberg, he devoted himself to the study of botany and made scientific excursions in Russia, France and Italy. In 1863 he visited Central Africa by way of Khartum and returned thence in 1866 with rich collections of natural history. With the approval of the Berlin Academy, he started again to Africa in 1869 with the escort of an ivory trader and the favor of the governor general of Sudan. He explored the country of the Dinkas, Bongos, Niam-Niam and Monbuttu and discovered the Akkas, a pygmy race. In 1873–74 he explored the great oasis in the Libyan desert and was appointed by the Khedive director of the museum of natural history at Cairo. In 1876–78 he explored the country between the Nile and the Red Sea and in 1881 took part in an expedition to the island of Socotra.[2]

STANLEY, HENRY MORTON, was born near Denbigh, Wales, in 1840. His name was then John Rawlands and at the age of three he was sent to the poorhouse at St. Asaph where he stayed till he was thirteen. He was then employed as a teacher at Mold, Flintshire, but a year later

[1] "Encyclopædia Britannica," American Supplement, Vol. 5, p. 174.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

shipped as a cabin-boy to New Orleans. There a merchant named Stanley gave him employment and eventually adopted him. But the merchant died intestate and his property passed to other heirs. Thereafter Stanley led a roving life among Indians and California miners until the civil war broke out. He enlisted in the Confederate army, but being soon taken prisoner, offered to take service on the other side. He was sent to the iron-clad *Ticonderoga* and there became acting ensign. At the close of the war he went to Crete as correspondent for the New York *Herald*, but soon left and traveled in Turkey and Asia Minor. In 1869 Mr. James Gordon Bennett the proprietor of the *Herald* sent him to Central Africa to search for Livingstone who had been reported killed in 1866, but whom Mr. Bennett believed to be still alive. Arriving at Zanzibar, he set out for the interior, February, 1871, with a company of 192 men, divided into five caravans. In the middle of April he met an Arab chief, bound eastward, who informed him that Livingstone was at Ujiji. After many difficulties and hardships Stanley reached Ujiji November 10, 1871, where he found Livingstone and remained with him for four months. Livingstone refused to return to Europe as his work of exploration was not yet completed. Having discovered Livingstone, which was the only object of his journey, Stanley returned to England and wrote his book, "How I Found Livingstone."

In his next famous expedition in 1874 Stanley, starting again from Zanzibar, turned off to Victoria Lake which he thoroughly explored, then made his way to Ujiji, crossed to the Lualaba River and there embarking, proved its identity with the Congo by sailing down that mighty stream to the Atlantic Ocean. He reached the coast in August, 1877, after perils far surpassing those of his first famous expedition. His second heroic enterprise and the wonderful geographical discoveries which were then accomplished are

narrated in "The Dark Continent." He went again to Africa in 1879 under the auspices of the African International Association, of which the king of Belgium was the chief patron, to explore the basin of the Congo River. In the course of four years Stanley had established trading stations along the river, for a distance of 1,400 miles and founded a government for the region.[1]

In 1886 Stanley was placed at the head of an expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha, governor of the Equatorial Province of Egyptian Sudan. In March, 1887, he ascended the Congo to the Aruwimi and followed this tributary to its headwaters. Then he struck out through the equatorial wilderness in the direction of the Albert Nyanza and reached there December of the same year. Out of 389 men who had set out with him only 174 were left and they were little more than skeletons. In April of the following year he met Emin Pasha on the shores of the lake. Stanley returned home by way of Zanzibar, thus completing his second journey across the Dark Continent.

Stanley was married to the artist Dorothy Tennant in 1890. He became a naturalized citizen of Great Britain, entered Parliament and received the knighthood of the Bath.[2]

STUHLMANN, FRANZ, was born in Hamburg, 1863. After receiving his education he went to East Africa and during the revolt of the Arabs in 1890 entered the German corps of defense as lieutenant and was severely wounded at Mlembule. Recovering from this, he joined the expedition of Emin Pasha to the lake region and was sent to Lake Victoria. He returned to Germany with valuable cartographic material and rich collections to which he added copiously on another trip to German East Africa undertaken in 1893–94 by order of the government.[3]

[1] "Encyclopædia Britannica," American Supplement, Vol. 5, p. 374.
[2] "The New International Encyclopædia," Vol. 16, p. 137. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

WISSMANN, HERMANN VON, a native of Germany, born in 1853. He entered the army and in 1880 accompanied Dr. Pogge, in the service of the German African Society, on an expedition into Central Africa. Setting out from Saint Paul de Loanda on the West Coast, they reached Nyangwe in April, 1882. Thence Pogge returned to the coast but Wissmann kept on eastward and reached Zanzibar. In 1883–85 he explored the region of the Kassai River and other parts of the Congo Basin for the Belgian Government and in 1886–87 traveled from Lubuku on the Congo to Mozambique by way of Nyangwe and Lake Tanganyika and Nyassa. In 1889–90, as Imperial commissioner, he suppressed the Arab uprising under Bushiri in German East Africa. In 1895–96 he was Governor of German East Africa.[1]

[1] "New International Encyclopædia," Vol. 17, p. 815.

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